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Development of the Latin American Feeling of Distrust Toward the United States, as Exemplified By the Works of Latin American Essayists

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN FEELING OF DISTRUST TOWARD THE UNITED STATES, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE WORKS OF LATIN AMERICAN ESSAYISTS

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V I T A

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: A CONTRAST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES

The object of this study, basically, is civilization, or to use a term that applies equally to all kinds of peoples: culture, "the total of the material objects and the non-material ways, customs, and institutions which a society creates to maintain its existence and to express its ideals."[1] Latin America and the United States have developed two distinctly different cultures, have been subject to different influences, and as a result, today have very little understanding of each other. Ask almost any group in the United States the simplest question about Latin America and you will get answers that would delight a Ripley but certainly would not flatter a Latin American. As one writer says, "To most of us it is a region more foreign than Europe or Asia; a land of tropical jungles and exotic fruits; of bullfights and banditry; of revolutions and rhumbas."[2]

Let us then, try to obtain a clearer picture of Latin America, contrasting her development with that of the United States, trying to understand her viewpoint, particularly the reasons for her growing distrust of the United States.

To return to the "material objects" mentioned in our definition, "the

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1 Charles C. Griffin. Latin America. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1944, 72.

2 Delia Goetz and Varian Fry. "The Good Neighbors." Foreign Policy Reports, New York, 1939, 7.

United States had more favorable locational, topographical, climatic, and other geographical bases on which to build a civilization than did Latin America."[3] The superiority of the United States in respect to topography and location requires but a moment's reflection to grasp. Duggan says, "Its better location with respect to Europe gave to the United States an initial advantage over Latin America in the development of its civilization; but its topography and climate gave it an even greater advantage."[4] The Allegheny Mountains are lower than those of eastern Brazil, and what is even more important, are quite removed from the coast. The coastal lowlands, intersected by rivers, afford access to the interior and invite settlement.[5] On the entire west coast of Latin America from California to Cape Horn there are no navigable rivers leading into the interior. On the east coast the navigable river systems of the Río Plata and Amazon basins allow steam boats to go far into the interior. But except for the Río São Francisco there are no navigable rivers between the two great river systems. "The result is that for a thousand miles with the exception of parts of São Paulo and Minas Geraes, the population of Brazil is pretty well concentrated in a comparatively narrow belt extending along the coast."[6] The first Spanish and Portuguese colonists had to make at once for the highlands in order simply to be safe from murderous diseases and to feed themselves. Therefore no compact line of white civilization

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[3] Stephen Duggan. The Two Americas. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934, 18.
[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] Ibid., 9.
[6] Ibid., 18.

could be founded in a fever-stricken and agriculturally useless tidewater; for geography forbade it.[7]

The mountains of South America are higher than those in the north; seven peaks rise to over twenty thousand feet.[8] These dizzy heights drop down to damp and tropical lowlands where there is a year-round struggle with disease and with the encroaching vegetation. The Andes form an almost complete barrier to east and west communication. The Orinoco, Amazon and La Plata river systems are admirable means of communication, but the swamp and forests that adjoin them are a hindrance to road construction and to settlement.

In the United States climate was one of man's greatest assets in the development of a new civilization. Never continuously cold as in the frigid regions, not continuously hot as in the torrid, the climate was bracing and invited vigorous activity. On the other hand, three fourths of Latin America is in the tropics and the Caribbean area is wholly in the tropics.[9]

It will be of advantage to note similarities between the two continents also. Each is traversed from north to south by a great mountain chain, much nearer to the western than to the eastern coast. In each, also, there is an independent mountain mass on the eastern side, the Appalachian system in North America, the Brazilian highlands in South America. The east coast of both receives more rain than the west, but the Antarctic

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[7] Duncan Aikman. The All-American Front. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., New York, 1940, 32.
[8] Goetz and Fry, 14.
[9] Duggan, 9.

current chills South America's west coast while the Gulf Stream warms the eastern coast of North America.

Thus topography, climate and other geographical influences in Latin America create difficulties in communication much greater than those in the United States or in Europe.

> Forty miles to a railhead over the hard-surfaced highways of Idaho, with the year's potato crop tucked away in trucks in the pink of mechanical efficiency, is as simple as driving to town for the Wednesday night movies. But forty miles to a railhead with a dozen cartloads of corn over the rain-bogged mud wagon trails of the Mexican mountains is an expedition requiring little less than a safari.[10]

In almost every phase of Latin American life, Aikman[11] believes, the anatomy of the mountains is the overwhelming conditioning factor. Latin America must farm in its mountains, work and create wealth and life in its mountains, because the coastal lowlands are useless, and its interior undeveloped. This fact will greatly influence industry, society and development of its culture generally.

It is also true and quite evident that geography has helped to differentiate country from country and region from region, and has created vastly different conditions for the inhabitants of plateau and valley, of tropical forest and temperate plain. This may help account for one of the Latin American's basic traits, a strong sense of individualism.

The position of Latin America on the globe and her size must also be considered. The whole of South America lies east of Detroit, Michigan, a

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[10] Aikman, 17.
[11] Ibid., 16.

line drawn straight south from Detroit would clear Cape Parina, Peru, the westernmost point in South America.[12] Latin America is three times the size of the United States, Brazil alone being larger than the United States. And strange to say, Latin America is a closer neighbor to Berlin and London and parts of Africa, than to New York.

Such were the lands the first conquistadores and explorers encountered. Our next question is, what race of people did they find living here, and how did each react upon the other?

In the North American continent, the natives, who were chiefly hunters and fishermen, retreated before the white man or were killed off.[13] The Hispanic peoples encountered not only a larger and often denser Indian population but also a more varied culture than that met by the English and the French.[14] The Indian peoples of the South American continent varied greatly in the degree to which they had developed elaborate systems of ritual religion and its associated lore. There was a wide span in cultural development between the nomadic hunters of the southern pampas and northern Mexico and the city dwellers of Middle America and the Andean chain.[15] "Partly because of their own traits and partly because of Spanish policy, the Indians of Hispanic America have generally survived...."[16]

Many Spanish writers have felt compelled to come to the defense of the early conquistador. As Blanco-Fombona says, "El grupo de españoles...

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12 Goeta and Fry, 10.
13 Duggan, 14.
14 Griffin, 15.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.

que descubrió, exploró y conquistó la mayor parte del Nuevo Mundo ha sido considerado hasta ahora, con casi unánime injusticia, como una serie de monstruos."[17] Another writer states that the very fact of physical survival is a disproof of much that has been said about the wickedness of the Spanish colonial system.[18]

> Although the Spanish system of forced labor for millions of Indians had been so long and so bitterly criticized, we have no reason to believe that another European nation in the same circumstances would have done better. All the colonial powers used slavery where it was economically advantageous. Spain alone avoided participating in the African slave trade. The Portuguese enslaved Indians in Brazil until negro labor proved more satisfactory. The English in North America desisted from their efforts to enslave the natives only when they found that their Indians could not be made to work. A hunting people cannot be enslaved as long as an adjacent wilderness exists, for flight is always possible. There was no escape for the agricultural peoples of central Mexico or of the valleys of Peru.[19]

The Incas, dwellers in the valleys and highlands of Peru, had secured control of weaker tribes and developed societies of a relatively high culture. The conquistador on encountering them, had a far different problem than did the explorer of the coastal regions of North America. The aqueducts constructed by the Incas were miles long, and cut out of the living rock. Their agriculture was scientific. "They knew the use of fertilizers, laid out enduring highways, constructed imposing temples and organ-

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17 Rufino Blanco-Fombona. El Conquistador Español del Siglo XVI. Editorial mundo latino, Madrid, 1922, 1.
18 Griffin, 15.
19 Ibid., 32.

ized efficient systems of storage and distribution of food."[20]

The Mayan civilization which flourished in the peninsula of Yucatan and in Guatemala was highly developed also. "The achievements of the Mayans in sculpture, architecture, and astronomy overshadowed the best that the other advanced native peoples were able to produce."[21]

The Spanish explorers, being of superior intelligence, skill, and having superior weapons, easily conquered the Aztecs, Incas, and other races and appropriated ownership of the soil. They were then relieved of the necessity of work, the conquered Indian doing it. In the region now the United States, the situation was entirely different. The native was not agricultural, not trained to continuous working of the soil, for he was the hunter, fighter and woodsman of the forests and plains. Instead of an intermingling of the races through close contact, the Indian flees before the white man until no frontier is left to him.

Griffin says, "The native peoples whom the Spaniards and Portuguese found in occupation of the American lands they conquered have played a larger part in the history of Latin America than the Indians of North America have played in our own."[22] This was due to the intermingling of the races and the subsequent development of the mestizo civilization. In Latin America today there are four distinct race combinations excluding emigrants. The mestizo is the product of pure Spanish and native Indian, the mulatto is the white and negro combination, the zambo is the product

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20 James G. McDonald. Latin America. American Library Association, Chicago, 1931, 14.
21 Ibid., 15.
22 Griffin, 15.

of negro and Indian blood, and the creole is the child of pure Spanish blood born in Latin America. Understanding of these race combinations and how they work side by side in Latin America is very important because of their influence on social, economic and political trends which developed the culture of the continent.

Much of the intermingling with the native races came as a result of the purpose of the explorations. The conquistador came with the idea of doing just what his name implies. He was a conqueror, and brought no wife or family with him. He came to conquer and to return to the mother country with his spoils. The settler of North America came to do what his name signifies. He brought his wife and family and came with the avowed purpose of making his home in the new land. He neither desired nor needed any fraternization with the native peoples.

Latin America had a great advantage over the United States as far as his racial question is concerned. Aikman states that, "The rapid mixture of races in the colonies, far from weakening the first colonial set up, actually strengthened it."[23] This is obvious since it would lead to a greater harmony and much less trouble with the natives than England was encountering with the North American colonies. The ease with which the Spaniards have intermingled by marriage with the Indian tribes and the Portuguese have done the same, not only with the Indians, but with the more physically dissimilar negroes - "shows that race repugnancy is no such constant and permanent factor in human affairs as members of the Teu-

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[23] Aikman, 36.

tonic peoples are apt to assume."[24] As Bryce says, "Instead of being, as we Teutons suppose, the rule in this matter, we are rather the exception, for in the ancient world there seems to have been little race repulsion."[25] He cites as examples the Mohammedans and Chinese. The Spanish and Portuguese know no sharp color line, as exists where men of Teuton stock are settled outside Europe. The Indian may be despised as a weakling, he may be ignored as a citizen, he may be abominably oppressed and ill treated, but he excites no personal repulsion.[26] "Whatever he suffers is suffered because he is ignorant or timid or helpless, not because he is of a different blood and colour."[27] The distinction between races in Latin America is a distinction of rank or class rather than colour. Against intermarriage there is therefore, no more feeling than that which exists against any union below a man's or woman's own rank in life.[28] There is nothing in the law to oppose such a union, and though whites seldom marry pure Indians, because the classes come little into contact, the presence of an unmistakable Indian strain in a suitor makes no difference to his acceptability to a white woman of the same rank.

Race tolerance in Latin America may be due greatly to Catholicism. The sense of unity achieved by all members of the same Church participating in the same sacraments is stronger in Roman Catholic than in Protestant churches.[29] For an example to illustrate this point, Bryce says, "As

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24 James Bryce. South America. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1912, 482.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., 470.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 471.
29 Ibid.

a member of a lower race who has been ordained a priest is thereby raised to a position which is in a sense above that of any layman, the race itself is raised in his person."[30] And again he states, "In the case of Spaniards and Portuguese, religion, so soon as the Indians have been baptized, made race differences seem insignificant. Islam has always done this in the East and in Africa."[31]

Now to consider the people who came to explore and to settle these new lands. To understand them we must go back to conditions in their respective mother countries. During Spain's war with the Mohammedans, national and religious uniformity was considered essential to success. Naturally so, since it was a religious war. The men who came out of the long struggle as the nation's honored and trusted leaders were the warrior and the priest. Since the war ended in the very year that Columbus discovered the new lands to the west, it was the warrior and priest who were induced to seek new adventure and the salvation of souls in the new country. Not primarily farmers seeking homes in a new land but, after the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, military adventurers looking for gold and silver; not peoples from a half-dozen countries speaking different tongues and observing different customs but all Spaniards speaking but one tongue; not a diversity of religious sects fleeing from persecution but all devoted to one faith - such were the people who founded the Spanish colonies in the new world. "Uniformity, not diversity, was the dominating characteristic. And what was true of the Spaniards was true practically to the same extent

30 Ibid., footnote.
31 Ibid., 482.

of the Portuguese."[32] Calderón says, "Politics and economics were subordinated to religion....The conquest of America /South America/ was apostolic."[33]

In the development of the English speaking colonies to the north, not only did the military play no part, but the majority of the settlers came from a country in which agriculture was not only the chief occupation but also the most honored vocation.[34] The control of society in England was with the country gentleman. He owned, lived on, and cultivated the land himself. The United States was settled, therefore, chiefly by people who came from a country in which the work of the farmer was highly regarded. "To own a farm was the great desideratum of the majority of people and as land was plentiful and cheap, its ownership became fairly widely distributed."[35] As his numbers increased his children moved west and built their homesteads in the free land.

In Latin America the Spanish government, seeing the need for settlers in the new land, attempted to get the conquistadores to settle down in an ordered existence. Large grants of land under the latifundia system were given out as an inducement.[36] Thus the estate system of Spain was transferred to the New World. Many large estates of thousands of acres are still undivided.[37] The large estate system was successful in Latin America

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32 Duggan, 24.
33 Francisco García Calderón. Latin America: Its Rise and Progress. T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1913, 52.
34 Duggan, 22.
35 Ibid.
36 Goetz and Fry, 24.
37 Ibid.

where it would have failed in the United States, because the native population were sedentary agricultural people who were able to work the land.

The west coast of South America was the first to be colonized, but unfortunately, the movement of population from the sea inland met an almost impenetrable obstacle in the three thousand mile barrier of the Andes. On the east coast topography did not present so great an obstacle to a westward movement of population. "But except in the southern part of the continent, climate prevented the development of the vigorous life that characterizes the frontier in North America."[38]

The two patterns of settlement of the continents were vastly different. The North American settlement moved in waves. During the seventeenth century, the first wave occupied the tidewater seaboard land. After 1700, the second wave began pushing up the rivers. By the time of the Revolution it had washed over the first mountain ranges and was seeping into the valleys. The post-revolutionary wave flowed into trans-Allegheny land and the nineteenth century's first generation settled the land up to the Mississippi. In the 1850's the westward trek to California and Oregon was made, and in the post civil war period the high prairies, cattle ranges and mountain states were settled.

The pattern of Spanish settlement was not a continuous frontier but a "chain of strategic centers housing Spanish groups scattered through areas inhabited by superior numbers of Indians."[39] "The necessities of defense, the strong communal traditions of Spain and the gregarious and

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[38] Duggan, 33.
[39] Griffin, 20.

sociable nature of the Spanish people encouraged a concentrated rather than scattered and isolated settlement."[40] Being bound to the Indians by economic needs and associations, the early colonists seemed to inherit also the Indians' immense isolation.

After the base or center was established the conquistadores spread out fan-wise in all directions seeking new lands. Thus from Santo Domingo, expeditions departed for Cuba, Florida, Yucatan and Central America. From Mexico City spread out another fan whose lines reached to Texas, western Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras. From Asunción in Paraguay the sword and the cross were carried north toward the Amazon, west to Peru, and south to Argentina. "Around these isolated nuclei huge colonial empires were to grow."[41]

By 1550 a whole continent and part of another had been explored. Ramírez speaks of this tremendous achievement when he says, "La grandiosa obra de colonización emprendida por los españoles en ese inmenso territorio, júzganla sabios críticos como una de las proezas más notables de una raza que registra la historia de la humanidad."[42] Another writer says, "It was...the most arduous, the most flamboyantly heroic exploit in the history of human migrations."[43] It was as if the North American land mass had been explored from Cape Nome to Florida, the Mississippi and the Columbian river systems mapped, the Rockies and the Appalachians prospected, Klondike and California gold discovered and all done within fifty years

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40 Ibid.
41 McDonald, 10.
42 Heriberto Ramírez. El Gran Amanecer. Editorial "Elite," Caracas, 1935, 10.
43 Aikman, 32.

after Jamestown.[44] The early Spanish explorer was trained as a warrior and zealous for souls to save. "No desert was too forbidding to check the missionaries who brought the message of the gospel."[45] The tremendous zeal on the part of both the warrior and missionary accounted in part for the speed with which this great area was explored.

By the end of the sixteenth century most of the Latin American cities we know today were founded. Fifteen of them are now nation's capitals. By 1542, every important Atlantic seaport of Spanish and Portuguese America except Río de Janeiro and Montevideo was in operation.[46] Aikman has a picturesque passage in The All-American Front which brings home to us the speed with which these early cities grew up and the topography represented by each.

> On the Pacific, Acapulco in Mexico stood ready to receive the galleons from the Philippines,...Cali and Bogotá were rising in their moonily remote valleys, Mexico City, Panama and Lima were already functioning as regional metropolises,...Asunción stood on its sun-cooked prairie, and Quito on its frosty equatorial tableland.[47]

The small horde of some two hundred thousand Spanish and Portuguese who came to the New World during the first fifty years after Columbus, in the span of one individual life time made an adequate over-all survey of the eight million square miles of the Latin American land mass, charted its rivers, prospected its mountains, and founded its primary cities of today.[48] To top it off, Spanish America got started well over one hundred

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44 Ibid., 33.
45 McDonald, 12.
46 Aikman, 33.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.

years before English America.[49]

The colonists of English speaking America were left alone during the greater part of their colonial history. In the seventeenth century there was a great struggle in Great Britain between king and parliament culminating in a civil war. The Revolution of 1688 gave the supremacy to parliament, thus concluding the struggle. Continuous attention was not given to the colonies during this time, allowing them to develop their own self-government institutions. In the eighteenth century also, the same state of affairs continued, for Great Britain was engaged in a war with France for colonial and maritime supremacy. "The colonists were able to consolidate their control of their own affairs."[50] When the war ended with victory for Great Britain, and she attempted to recoup some of her great expenses by taxing the colonies, she found herself face to face with the descendents of the original rebel settlers, who had no intention of paying taxes to her. Her argument that her European war had been undertaken to relieve the colonies from the danger of the French in Canada, and that it should, therefore, be partially paid for by them, fell upon barren ground. The colonies revolted, won their independence, and set up their Constitution. The colonial legislature had been the bulwark of colonial liberties against the encroachments of the colonial governor who represented the English crown. It was natural for the colonies to place the legislature above the executive position in the new constitution they were to form.[51] A system of checks and balances between these two divisions of

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[49] Goetz and Fry, 16.
[50] Duggan, 20.
[51] Ibid., 21.

the government was set up in order to maintain the status quo, and to allow no chance for one group to become more powerful than another.

The Latin American colonies had a more difficult and involved colonial period. "To some extent the conditions of the colonies in the seventeenth century could be traced right back to the mother country and what was happening there."[52] Spain had vast plans in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which made her royal income vanish quickly. She grew to depend greatly on the output of the mines in her Latin American colonies. Her trade policy was based on the mineral exports of Mexico and Peru.[53] Once the enormous value of the production of these mines became apparent everything else became subsidiary. "The royal fifth of all mineral production from the colonies made up the lion's share of the royal income."[54]

Spain was interested in using her wealth for European ventures, not for planning a closed economy to build up the industries of the mother country. Holland, England, and France based their trade policy on the theory of exporting as little as possible in order to acquire a favorable balance of trade and bring boullion into the realm. Spain's boullion came in without the necessity of protecting home manufactures. There was no urgent reason to increase the volume of trade of the mother country or the colonies. "In view of the dependable supply of boullion Spain failed to note any objection to a trade policy which raised prices in the colonies and reduced colonial consumption of European goods."[55]

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52 Goetz and Fry, 32.
53 Griffin, 36.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid., 37.

Also it must be remembered that Spain was primarily agricultural, the Industrial Revolution having by-passed her. In other countries farmers and craftsmen changed to merchants and traders, but Spain's mode of living remained virtually unchanged, agriculture being the mainstay of the population.

Another point to remember is, as Duggan says, "Every European country looked upon its colonies as existing for the benefit of the mother country."[56] In the sixteenth century mercantilism was everywhere the accepted political philosophy, and remained so throughout the entire colonial period.[57]

But if the colonies were a source of wealth, they were also a source of worry. Worry that their riches might make them unduly attractive to other powers and worry that her faithful colonists and newly Christianized Indians might come in contact with infidels and heretics. As Goetz and Fry say, "This feeling of anxiety about their welfare made Spain clap on such strict immigration and trade regulations that the colonies were as closely chaperoned as a Spanish senorita."[58] A close check was made on traders' and immigrants' credentials, a permit had to be obtained before anyone could visit the colonies, and the purpose of your visit had to be stated. A fleet system was established to protect her merchant ships from plunder, a House of Trade was set up to regulate commerce, and a system of

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56 Duggan, 24.
57 Ibid.
58 Goetz and Fry, 19.

colonial rule was instigated. By mid sixteenth century a Council of the Indies in Spain was created and given supreme authority in all matters relating to the colonies. To appreciate the speed of this organization we must realize this took place about the time Cortez concluded his campaign against the Aztec capital.[59]

The position of viceroy was created, with the purpose of being the direct representative of the crown in the New World. By 1776 the Spanish colonies were divided into four viceroyalties, and other smaller local units such as captaincies, presidencies and audencias. It was a beautifully organized, highly centralized administrative system. The decisions and ordinances of the Council of the Indies were codified and published in the seventeenth century under the title, Recopilación de Leyes de Indias. Griffin says of it, "All who have studied this remarkable collection of laws have been struck by its humane and enlightened, though elaborate and paternal character."[60]

Many factors caused this well organized administrative system to run into trouble. Among them may be mentioned: (1) the seat of authority was distant, (2) officials were fallible human beings, (3) red tape made opportunities for delay and evasion, and (4) administrative positions were held by Spaniards from the peninsula, even Spanish people born in the colonies holding few control positions.

To these administrative difficulties must be added other factors. (1) A decline in American silver production in the late seventeenth century gave Spain less revenue when she needed it most, (2) the Bourbons came to

59 Griffin, 21.
60 Ibid., 26.

the throne of Spain, did away with Hapsburg policies and adopted ideas in vogue in Europe at that time, (3) Spain's navy was on the decline, she failed to control the sea and protect her colonial trade, (4) French writings were smuggled into America and the cry of Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité echoed throughout like a clarion call, (5) there was great political unrest in the colonies due to the desire to hold office.

When rebellion did take place it was for the King of Spain, not against him. Napoleon's overthrow of the Spanish monarchy in the opening years of the nineteenth century, and his enthronement of his brother Joseph was bitterly resented in the colonies. As the rebellion grew, the seeds of complete independence grew with it. Spanish America at first refused to receive Joseph's officials[61] and continued as though Ferdinand VII was still King. The years 1808-1814 saw a free-for-all government, resulting confusion and discord, and a taste of independence for the colonies.

There are parallels between the Latin American independence movement and the North American revolution. The New England, Middle Atlantic and Southern colonies took part in the revolution for different reasons. The merchants' reasons were different than those of the plantation owner, for instance. Yet all joined in the common struggle.

In Latin America, too, the reasons for revolting varied in different places. Regions like Buenos Aires and Venezuela wanted greater freedom of trade. In Mexico and Bolivia discontent of the native race and the mes-

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61 Goetz and Fry, 36.

tizos accounted for a large part of the unrest. Regions like Ecuador, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay wanted greater local autonomy and freedom from control by the nearby powerful provinces.[62]

After a series of municipal uprisings, such as the North American colonies had, military and political leaders came to the fore. Argentina and Chile were united in the south through the genius of General San Martín. In the north, the great figure of Simón Bolívar united Venezuela, New Granada and Ecuador. The two met in Peru and destroyed the last strongholds of royalism in 1824.

The struggle for independence in Spanish America was waged over a much larger area than in North America, an area complicated by mountains, jungles and tropical climate. It dragged on for fifteen years and "of outside help there was practically none."[63]

When independence was finally won, Spain not recognizing the independence of any Spanish American country until 1836, there was great disagreement over what kind of government they should have. Finally, when each had its constitution adopted, most of them betrayed a double influence, the policy of federalism which copied the political organization of the United States, and inspiration by French ideas.[64]

Many were the problems facing the new states after their independence was achieved. First, the process of restoring order, secondly, the establishment of communications, third, the reconciliation of different cul-

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62 Griffin, 39.
63 Goetz and Fry, 38.
64 García Calderón, 82.

tures and theories of government, and lastly, settlement of boundary disputes and the arrival at some kind of cooperation with the other republics.

In the United States, geography and history determined that the independent colonies would form a united country despite the diversities that existed. Duggan, in his work, The Two Americas,[65] gives three reasons for drawing this conclusion. (1) The thirteen states were all east of the Alleghenies and water communication was good, although land communication was slow, (2) no colony was isolated from the others, and business relations between them were well developed, (3) the colonies' long experience in self-government aided them in surmounting any obstacles to unity present.

Concerning the Latin American states he says: (1) they covered an enormous area and were separated from each other by mountain chains, jungles and deserts making business interchange difficult, (2) the colonies were separated into states on the basis of administrative divisions that had existed under Spain. Since these boundaries were not exact, wars between the states were at first frequent, (3) the states were inexperienced in administering their own affairs, so tended toward dictatorships.

To the causes for Latin America's turbulent history after the gaining of independence might also be added the fact that the officer class which often had comprised the most able and energetic citizens, was at loose ends after the wars. To demobilize the officers would be difficult because of the unsettled character of the period after the defeat of the

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65 Duggan, 27.

Spanish armies, they could not be retired on pensions because all government treasuries were empty, and to retire them without pensions would be dangerous.[66]

"It is not surprising therefore, that army men turned to politics."[67] The army man is likely to be a disturbing political element. As one writer puts it, "Political militarism with army influence in civilian departments of government, is likely to result in the frequent use of force, impatience of delay, and contempt for civilian bureaucratic methods."[68] These facts may help to explain the revolutions which have taken place in Latin America following the Wars for Independence.

So much for the contrast between Latin America and the United States geographically, racially, and historically. Now let us consider the temperament of the people themselves.

The Latin American is not as fond of commercial business, nor so apt for it, nor so eager to get in and get rich as the North American.[69] The process of money making has not for him that fatal attraction that it has for so many men of North America. He is too afraid that it will make him forget the things that make life worth living until it is too late in life to enjoy them.

The compelling need to develop the practical side of life did not exist for the colonist in Latin America. "Except in a few countries like

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66 Griffin, 45.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 Bryce, 505.

Argentina, Uruguay, and southeastern Brazil, his descendents to this day live far more nearly like their fathers than does any one in the United States."[70] The Latin American of the tropics does not practice the "hustle" of the North American. His is not a business man's civilization. "Such terms as efficiency, standardization, and mass production arouse no enthusiasm in him."[71] The Latin American has always been an individual and a theorist, more interested in ideas as ideas than in the control of material things. The North American regards him as an idealist, and is regarded in turn by the Latin American as a materialist.

Calderón says that, "Individualism is the fundamental note of the Spanish psychology,"[72] and Duggan states, "Generally speaking, individualism is the very essence of Latin American psychology."[73] It inspires confidence in self and the powers of self, it develops human energy and a great pride and sensitivity.

Also, "Latin American civilization is emphatically a man's civilization in which the home is looked upon as woman's proper place."[74] This writer goes on to say, however, that the North American movie which has portrayed a much freer life for women than existed in Latin America, is making "a deep impression, perhaps of questionable value."[75]

There is practically no birth control in Latin America, the family is nearly always large, and is far more of a unit than in the United States.

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70 Duggan, 34.
71 Ibid.
72 García Calderón, 31.
73 Duggan, 37.
74 Ibid., 53.
75 Ibid., 55.

The family groups tend to stay together in a patriarchal set-up.[76]

With the Latin American the observing of tradition is almost a principle of life, and has a much larger place than in the life of the North American. He is less ready to jettison established customs and to incorporate new practices into his way of living. With the Latin American, history is still alive. In a very picturesque passage Aikman says, "History walks through the traffic jams of Buenos Aires and Río de Janeiro and follows the wooden plow of the Andean peon in Peru."[77] It is not something to be lightly cast aside.

The criticism is often made by Latin Americans that the citizen of the United States emphasizes the quantitative aspect of life as against the qualitative, that he prefers to do everything on a large scale in a minimum of time and with a maximum of efficiency. The Latin American believes that in so doing "he has mechanized and standardized life and is indifferent to its spiritual truth...."[78] The criticism is also made of the United States that its people are concerned exclusively with the production of wealth, neglecting the problem of its distribution.

The different attitude of the two men towards life is shown in their chief contributions to culture. The North American is a leader in the field of economics, a study which deals primarily with material things, while the Latin American has done considerable in the field of political philosophy, which deals with abstract ideas of justice and equity.[79] The

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[76] Ibid., 49.
[77] Aikman, 29.
[78] Duggan, 39.
[79] Ibid., 43.

Latin American believes that his countryman to the north keeps principles on hand to use when they will serve him and to cast aside when they will no longer profit him.

But the law of life is change and the pressure of events is making different men of both the North American and the Latin American. The great economic development of the twentieth century, is causing the Latin Americans to become more practical, more economical and more realistic in their attitude toward life. "It is to be hoped that the courtesy which has always been one of his most attractive characteristics may not be lessened in the change."[80] On the other hand, the North American is seen as becoming more reflective as is evidenced by the literature of criticism that has arisen in recent years making him aware of his intellectual and spiritual deficiencies.[81]

The contrasting psychology of the peoples of the two Americas is shown especially in their religious beliefs and practices. Spain is Catholic, and her colonies were Catholic. It follows that the Latin American countries today are predominantly Catholic. This strong bond goes back to the days when the Church was the only cohesive force of any considerable influence. It earned the right to its high position, for its missionaries had been active explorers, scholars of the Indian tongue, introduced European architecture, music and painting to the new land, and established its earliest schools and hospitals.[82] "In courage and energy and endurance

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80 Duggan, 44.
81 Ibid.
82 McDonald, 16.

they were a good match for the fiery conquistadores and the later colonists."[83]

The Church during the colonial period carried the burden of charity and social service alone in Spanish America. The center of social activity was the Church. Its outstanding work was done in the sixteenth century, which produced heroic and saintly churchmen like Las Casas, Bishop Zumárraga, and Pedro de Ganto. In the seventeenth century some church organizations became decadent, "but the Jesuit order was a conspicuous exception. It distinguished itself in the mission field from Lower California to Paraguay and established outstanding secondary schools in Spanish America."[84] Latin America owes the Church an enormous debt for its constructive influence on society.

The Protestant Churches of the United States have been known for their great outpouring of philanthropy, emphasizing at the same time thrift, or self-help in the individual. The Latin American still considers that one of the chief personal virtues daily to be practiced is charity. "People in practically all stations of life are always ready to give a small coin to a beggar."[85] The North American seems to be practicing his religion with the same material outlook that he has in the rest of his life. The emphasis upon works may be so great that there is danger of the disappearance of faith, just as the emphasis on the material may lead to the death of the spiritual.

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83 Goetz and Fry, 30.
84 Griffin, 31.
85 Duggan, 88.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCES AT WORK IN LATIN AMERICA

The geographical, racial, historic, and social factors discussed in the previous chapter may be considered as influences at work in Latin America; influences which are of an internal or intrinsic nature. To these may be added influences of an external nature, those which exert a pressure from the outside; other countries, other powers whose interest in and actions concerning Latin America profoundly affect her culture and development.

South America is inevitably very tempting. There are tremendous natural resources there of virtually every kind, although no one country has a sufficient variety for a balanced, well developed economy. Burton,[1] in his article, "The South American Grab-Bag," tells us, for instance, that Argentina is overwhelmingly agricultural, but limited in mineral resources. Brazil, the best endowed of all, whose iron deposits exceed those of the United States, still lacks coal and oil, coal being essential for steel production. Nature seems to have designed the South American lands for imperialistic exploitation as a result of her unbalanced economy. Further, there is room for almost unlimited immigration.

When a foreign power is unable to expand in accordance with primary ambitions near home, it has an added incentive to seek territory elsewhere. This fact might explain why German activities in Latin America

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1 Wilbur Burton. "South American Grab-Bag." Current History, November, 1937, 55.

were the greatest. Having no territory near home in which to expand and thus satisfy her colonial urge, she sought it overseas.

British, German and French interests vied with one another in securing trade in Latin America, millions were invested, thousands of young men were sent out to marry South American wives and grow up with the country.[2] "These Europeans studied the field in a scientific way, they gave long credits, furnished goods in the form desired, and adopted the leisurely courteous manners of the country...."[3] Later, when the United States came out of its shell and looked toward Latin America and its trade, there was a marked contrast between the careful, scientific study and skillful methods of the Europeans and the hit-or-miss method of the North Americans.

"The...European nations are watching each other like pugilists in a ring,"[4] says Rippy, in his work, Latin America in World Politics. Latin America possessed such elements of attraction as gold, silver, diamonds, tin, copper, nitrates, iron, petroleum, rubber, superb timber, tropical luxuries, fertile soils, succulent grasses for stock, and backward natives to be Christianized and civilized.[5] "Germany, Japan, and Italy, in the order named, have been exceedingly active in South America."[6]

Later when the United States promulgated her theory of hemispherical solidarity in the Monroe Doctrine, the ardor of the powers was cooled,

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2 J. Gamble Reighard. "Do We Know Our A B C's?" Sunset, the Pacific Monthly, June, 1918, 40:45.
3 Ibid.
4 J. Fred Rippy. Latin America in World Politics. F.S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1938, 115.
5 Ibid., foreword.
6 Burton, 54.

although "it did not banish from European minds all thoughts of interference under the sunny sky of South America."[7]

Let us then, trace individually, the influences which the important powers exerted on the Latin American republics.

What role did Spain, primary mother country of the Latin American nations play in influencing the development of her former colonies?

With the Wars of Independence still fresh in her mind, Spain was slow to put aside the resentment which they had caused. Gradually, however, "numerous treaties relating to extradition, postal and telegraphic communications, literary, scientific and artistic property, and commercial affairs, gave evidence of the abandonment of the policy of aloofness."[8]

In the mid nineteenth century Spain began to view the expansion westward of the United States with something approaching alarm. She put forward the argument for racial solidarity in order to induce the Hispanic Americans to unite among themselves and with Spain for the purpose of stemming the tide of expansion and invasion. Newspapers were established, books were written, even Spanish diplomats labored to this end. In Mexico City alone at least three newspapers were founded during this period with the avowed purpose of upholding the interests of the Spanish race in America: the Eco de España, the Correo de España and El Español.[9] Rippy,[10] in his article on "Pan Hispanic Propaganda in Hispanic America," cites a

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7 William Spence Robertson. "The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-24." The American Political Science Review, November, 1912, 6:562.

8 J. Fred Rippy. "Pan Hispanic Propaganda in Hispanic America." Political Science Quarterly, September, 1922, 37:392.

9 Ibid., 390.

10 Ibid.

few examples to illustrate their work. On January 7, 1852, El Español declared the United States had designs on all Hispanic American republics, and that the latter should pursue a policy of solidarity and alliance with Spain for purposes of actual defense. An editorial in the Eco de España of July 30, 1853 called attention to the consistently aggressive policy of the United States as a source of imminent danger to the Spanish race on this side of the Atlantic. In September, 1854, the Correo de España contained several articles against the "colossal invader" of the North.

Gradually the idea of Pan Hispanism was taken up in Spain. Hispanic American congresses and centenaries were held, Spanish students were encouraged to pursue their studies in Hispanic America, Hispanic American students were offered inducements to come to Spain, and professors were exchanged.[11]

The growing friendship for Spain in Hispanic America is largely the result of Spanish effort, or, more accurately, of the efforts of a fairly large intelligent and enthusiastic group of Spaniards who have laboured and are labouring for what they conceive to be the welfare of their country and the interest of the Spanish race. "Racial and cultural solidarity has been in fact, the keynote of their propaganda."[12] When we consider that, as Ramírez says , "Todo el meridión Americano habló luego el idioma castellano, comulgó en la religión de los colonizadores y absorbió la sangre y los costumbres que aportó el hombre de la Peninsula Ibérica, quedando esparcida por todo indoamérica la savia germinativa del árbol penin-

11 Ibid., 397.
12 Ibid., 389.

sular,"[13] we realize the strong basis they had on which to build their Pan Hispanic relationship.

When the Spanish American War came, Spain found herself without active friends, and unprepared to meet the foe. In a short time it was all over and the last vestige of a once glorious empire in America had passed from Spanish control.

However, various groups in Latin America, intellectuals particularly, felt a great resurgence of love for the mother country as a result of the War. Such writers as Rubén Darío, José Santos Chocano, Gómez Jaime, José M. Vargas Vila, Eliseo Giberga, and J. Francisco V. Silva became the champions of this new feeling in Latin America founded on common origins and cultures, a Pan Hispanic movement.[14] They believe that the only means of saving their nationalities "from deterioration and chaos within and absorption from without is to return to the law of their origin, their historical past, maternal traditions and racial heritage.

The Hispano-American rapprochement has made much progress since the early days of the nineteenth century. Arbitration treaties, and various pacts relating to commercial, industrial and cultural matters have been signed, and there has been a growing tendency to refer matters of dispute between Latin American states to the arbitration of the Spanish government.[16]

The movement of trade between Spain and the Hispanic American coun-

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13 Heriberto Ramírez. El Gran Amanecer. Editorial "Elite," Caracas, 1935, 10.
14 Rippy, "Pan Hispanic Propaganda in Hispanic America," 406.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 413.

tries will prove disappointing to those who are searching for this supposedly solid basis for intimacy. Rippy[17] states that in 1913 Spain furnished only three and one-half per cent of the total commerce of Hispanic America, while she purchased from it a still smaller portion of its exports. By 1918 these percentages had risen to about four and one-half and a little more than two and one-half respectively. Her loss of Cuba accounted greatly for the decrease in her commerce with the Latin American states after the Spanish American War.

Spanish interest in Spain overseas was intensified by World War I. Spain was urged to instigate her commercial program with South America while the United States was in the midst of war. Her trade with Latin America did increase after World War I.[18] The Hispano-American Congress which at the instance of the Unión Iberoamericana, convened in Madrid two years after the close of the war, "gave further evidence of the growing feeling of solidarity between Spain and her erstwhile colonies."[19]

Italy's influence in Latin America is seen mainly in her immigration figures. She has a "large element in every country of the South American continent."[20] In 1937 thirty five per cent of Argentina's population was Italian in origin; thirty five per cent of Brazil's, and thirty per cent of Uruguay's.[21] Though Brazil is primarily Portuguese in culture, Italian immigration into Brazil since 1820 has been five per cent greater than Port-

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17 Ibid., 414.
18 Ibid., 399.
19 Ibid., 406.
20 Burton, 56.
21 Ibid.

uguese immigration. This curious fact is due to the present law which limits immigration to a percentage of the settlement of various nationals over a period of time, fixing the Italian quota at about 27,500 a year, and the Portuguese quota at 23,000.[22]

To trace the influence of France in Latin America, we must go back to the time when Louis Napoleon rose to power. A part of his now famous letter to General Forey deserves to be quoted at some length:

> We have an interest in seeing the Republic of the United States become powerful and prosperous; but we have no interest in seeing it seize all of the Gulf of Mexico, dominate from there the Antilles and South America, and become the sole dispenser of the products of the New World. If the United States should become master of Mexico and consequently of Central America and the pass between the oceans, there would indeed be no other power in America. If on the contrary Mexico shall achieve its independence and maintain the integrity of its territory; if a stable government is set up by means of French arms we shall have opposed an impenetrable dike to the overflow of the United States; ...we shall have established our benevolent influence in the center of America, and this influence shall radiate to the North as well as to the South, create immense markets for our commerce, and procure materials indispensable for our industry.[23]

It is common knowledge that the hostility of the United States, Prussia's menacing attitude, and the dogged persistent fighting of Mexicans under Juarez caused the withdrawal from Mexico of French troops in 1867, leaving the puppet Maximilian to his tragic fate. "Since the close of the Maximilian period Frenchmen have been most persistent and bitter critics of our /United States/ Latin American policies."[24]

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22 Ibid.
23 As quoted by Rippy, in Latin America in World Politics, 127.
24 Ibid., 129.

So we find that as the Anglo-Saxons of the United States gradually encroached upon the Latins to the South, Frenchmen, like the Spanish, were impelled by racial consciousness to protest against the threatened absorption.

Mr. Georges La fond in the Paris Revue states that Latin America has little in common with the United States and more to lose than to gain by becoming its economic dependency. "The principal active element is represented by European immigration. There is only a handful of Yankees in that enormous area."[25]

Europe was considered as being saturated, and as having reached its maximum of industrial density. They looked toward South America, "whose population at the beginning of the nineteenth century has increased almost sixfold since."[26]

The idea of Pan Latinism grew rapidly. At the same time the differences of the Latin Americans were recognized. "The Latin American can be compared neither with the matter-of-fact Yankee nor with the cynic Teuton,"[27] says La fond. He may be won over easily by "persuasive eloquent argumentation."[28]

It is evident too that the French were concerned about the German element in Latin America. "Is it then impossible for us Frenchmen who are nearer to him /Latin American/ racially to outwit the German propaganda?"[29]

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25 "France in South America." Literary Digest, April 14, 1917, 54:1052.
26 Ibid., 1053.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.

Latin America, La fond goes on to say, has no fondness for the German article; he took it because no other was offered to him.

World War I caused a virtual cessation of French criticism of the United States' Latin American policy. This change, however, was only temporary. The war caused quite a decline in Latin American trade; one authority giving a drop of fifty five per cent between 1913 and 1918.[30] The fact that the United States was the main power to benefit from French losses didn't tend to put France in a better frame of mind toward the politics of the White House in Latin America.

At the close of World War I the French were resolved to recoup their losses in Latin America. A French journalist in the Revue Minerva says that Latin America's "points of contact with North America are few; neither language nor race, nor religion nor customs are included...." And again, "Latinity is not a vague and literary phase, it is a real thing in many economic and political problems. The Latin republics of America feel their affinity of race for the Latins of Europe."[31]

It is believed that the most important motive for French attacks upon the American policy of the United States was the economic motive. France, as well as all the other nations had her eye on Latin American markets. The European powers agreed on one thing: that the United States was using the Monroe Doctrine to exclude European capital and production from the southern markets. Pierre Arthuys, at the centenary of the Monroe Doctrine and the Pan American Congress of Santiago in 1923, opened the discussion

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[30] Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 135.
[31] Ibid., 136.

with a bitter article on Dollar Diplomacy. He declared, "In Latin America, the United States is trying to reduce her neighbors to economic fiefs, through the agencies of trusts, financial control, loans, and political intervention."[32]

The attempt of the United States to force England to arbitrate the British Guiana-Venezuelan boundary dispute aroused still more debate and criticism in France. France was afraid that the government of the United States would assume toward republican France in its dispute regarding the boundary between Brazil and French Guiana, the same attitude which had been taken with reference to monarchial England.[33]

In Great Britain it was economic considerations that were exerting a strong influence upon British thought. The imperialistic policy of the United States might bring order and higher standards of living, thereby enlarging the market for British goods. So it was that in the "latter part of 1856 British opposition to the southward expansion of the United States began to relax and the task of circumscribing the Yankees was left to others."[34]

Disraeli, on June 16, 1856, arose in the House of Commons to speak on the relations of the United States and Britain in America. He thought it would "be wise in England not to regard with the extreme jealousy with which she has hitherto looked upon it any extension of the territory of the United States beyond the bounds which were originally fixed."[35]

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[32] As quoted in Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 137.
[33] Ibid., 131.
[34] Ibid., 103.
[35] Ibid.

Britain's policy of letting the United States alone in her relations with Latin America changed however in the 1880's and 1890's. The United States' resolution to demand a canal under ownership and control of the United States government, thereby capturing a large share of the trade of Latin America, and the zeal of certain United States Secretaries of State for Pan American congresses, led to criticism and unrest in Britain. Their complaints grew louder after 1895 when the United States insisted upon the arbitration of the Venezuelan-British Guiana boundary dispute. This dispute was settled, and was found to be "more favorable to the claims of Great Britain than to those of Venezuela."[36]

During the Spanish American War, Britain maintained her friendly attitude. This attitude, as Rippy[37] says, was probably based upon the hope that the American acquisition of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines would not result in injury to England's economic interests, but, on the contrary, that it would support these interests. So it was likewise in the case of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Article III of that treaty provided that the canal should be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations on terms of entire equality. Britain had given way with the understanding that nothing was to be done officially to injure her trade in Latin America,[38]

Burton says, "British investments in some South American countries, notably Argentina, are far larger than those of any other foreign nation."[39]

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36 Ibid., 121.
37 Ibid., 123.
38 Ibid.
39 Burton, 54.

Argentina is an important source of grain and meat for England, so there is inevitably a very close tie-up between the two countries. Britain's Latin American trade in 1925 amounted to 933,000,000 pounds sterling, she purchased eighteen per cent of Latin America's exports and furnished eighteen per cent of its imports.[40]

Germany, of all the European powers, seems the most aggressive in her attitude toward Latin America. A Prussian colonel said, "We've a birth-rate of a million a year over France: Von Moltke called it 'an annual victory.' Is there anything left for us? Yes, there's South America."[41]

Dr. Paul Gast, a professor at the commercial university at Aix-la-Chapelle, states:

> Sixty million people of European origin, still at the beginning of their politico-economic career, offer a rich field indeed for the industrial and cultural activities of the old races of the European continent, forced as the latter are to look constantly for new fields for their ever-increasing production.[42]

He goes on to say that they must study the Iberian Kultur in Europe as represented by the Spanish Renaissance, for the Spanish American War has awakened their sympathy for old Spain.[43]

German discussions of Latin America usually assumed one or more of three forms. (1) They pointed to the importance of protecting German investments and trade, (2) they criticized the Latin American policy of the United States, and (3) they dwelt upon ways and means of advancing German

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40 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 125.

41 Ignatius Phayre. "The German Invasion of South America." The Living Age, April 1, 1916, 289:56.

42 "Germany Wooing Latin America." Literary Digest, September 30, 1916, 53:823.

43 Ibid.

interests in such fashion as to arouse suspicion of territorial designs.

In regard to German investments and trade, the Teutons sought to ingratiate themselves as the Romans did. They revealed a studied politeness in bows, handshaking, and hat-lifting, learned to use excellent Spanish and Portuguese, flattered and fawned where it seemed to their advantage, and were careful to exhibit a show of loyalty to Spanish American governments and institutions.[44]

The German is found in such isolated countries as Bolivia, where he has "gone Germanizing fourteen thousand feet above the sea."[45] A committee of experts was sent there to study the market, taking back to Germany complete sets of samples of every article that they could possibly imitate and send to these out of the way populations.[46] "Ponchos bought in these Andean highlands must be examined closely to see if they are made by the Indians or exported from Germany."[47] It is commonly reported in all parts of South America that these German-made imitations are fine to look at and resemble so closely the original native article, that one can scarcely note the difference, but the quality of the manufacture is said to be inferior in most cases.

The German manufacturer scrupulously considers all the factors relative to the sale of his wares in Latin America. For instance, the size of the packages which must be transported over the difficult terrain of Latin

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44 Clayton Sedgwick Cooper. "The Germans in South America." The Century Magazine, July, 1918, 96:376.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.

America on the llamas' backs is very important. The German manufacturer adjusts the weight of the cases, they are made of the best quality of wood to stand the treatment, and as Cooper says, "An obstreperous llama may roll down a hill but the good will not be scattered over the surrounding country, as I have at times seen American products decorating the bleak slopes of the Andes."[48]

Germany did not become a factor of great importance in Latin America until near the close of the nineteenth century. Prior to that time several thousand Germans had settled mainly in Mexico, Guatemala, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil and Chile; several million dollars had been invested, German educators had begun to influence Chile's educational system, and a few German officers were beginning to train the armies of some of the Pacific coast states. German vessels were carrying a goodly portion of South American commerce; and the German Empire had negociated commercial treaties with most of the nations of Latin America.[49] It was then that Germans began to clamor for colonies and a navy to defend German interests throughout the world. By 1896 there were about four hundred thousand people of German descent in Latin America, German investments in the region had reached half a billion dollars and German trade with these countries amounted to about one hundred forty six million dollars.[50]

During the next seventeen years their influence in Latin America increased tremendously. By 1913, German trade reached $470,000,000, German investments were about two billion dollars, and there were 600,000 to

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48 Ibid., 377.
49 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 142.
50 Ibid.

700,000 German settlers in Latin America.[51] The Latin American commerce of no other nation grew so rapidly although others exceeded it in volume.

In Brazil, contracts had been made with the German Immigration Syndicate for the colonization of 2,000 German families in Santa Maria Magdalena, in the northern part of the State of Río de Janeiro, their passage money being advanced by the Brazilian government.[52] On the other hand, the Imparcial of Madrid, published a list of complaints from Spaniards who had emigrated to Brazil, and who were asking Spanish authorities for transportation home, because Brazilian employers seemed determined not to engage foreign workers.[53]

World War I inflicted great injury on German interests in Latin America naturally. Latin American trade was completely wiped out, slowly recovered up to World War II, having five per cent of Latin America's commerce in 1920, and fifteen per cent in 1922,[54] and then was completely wiped out again.

Considering our second point, German criticism of the Latin American policy of the United States, we find that the Spanish American War greatly stimulated this interest and criticism. Dr. Paul Gast, German professor previously quoted, stated, "It is then in our interest to further this anti-Yankee spirit, /in Latin America/ for under no circumstances can we

51 Ibid., 143.
52 "Germany Underbids All Rivals in South America." Current History, August, 1921, 14:899.
53 Ibid., 900.
54 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 155.

tolerate a political predominance of the United States on this virgin economical soil."[55] He believed that Uncle Sam was on one side, and all the rest of the trading nations of the world, Japan included, were on the other. "...Germany's greatest danger in South America, so indispensable for our economic future, is not symbolized by the Union Jack, but by the Stars and Stripes."[56] He believed that Germany had an advantage over the Stars and Stripes in business methods, declaring that, "He /Yankee/ can not adapt himself, as we Germans do, to the idiosyncracies of the foreign customer."[57]

During World War I, Germany's main purpose was to prevent the Latin American states from joining the Allies, and to divert the energies of the United States by causing trouble in the Western Hemisphere. The position and influence of the procession of military instructors, scientists, bankers, merchants and professors who had been coming over for years was revealed.[58] Notwithstanding the fact that the combined influence of France, England, Italy and the United States was pitted against the Teutons, Brazil was the only important Latin American nation which entered the lists opposed to Germany, and sympathy for Germany was found strong in Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico.[59]

Our third point, German imperialistic tendencies in Latin America, is well brought out by this statement: "The fact must be kept in mind that the idea of Prussianizing a large portion of the Southern Hemisphere has

55 "Germany Wooing Latin America," 823.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 153.
59 Ibid.

been one of Germany's great dreams and ambitions."[60] An article in the Hamburger Nachrichten of March, 1898, says, "The whole of Central and South America is at present to be had for the right nation. German emigrants can, if they are so minded, create a German empire there."[61]

During the years 1885-1915, the German movement in Chile has depended particularly upon the Teuton professors who were sent there under contract with the Chilean government, followed by the German military officers whom General Korner, a German ex-captain, engaged as instructors for the army.[62] Then came the German banks, and industries with large firms for doing business on an increased scale. The Germans Prussianized the Chilean army; their uniforms were Prussian, the parade step, pointed helmets and German methods were used. Anything that might be necessary "from the Krupp cannon and Mauser rifles to the shoes of the horses"[63] was acquired from Germany.

In Brazil during these years, Germany had founded quite a good sized German-American empire in one of the richest garden spots of the earth. There she has set up three colonies comprising the vast area of Paraná, Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul.[64] This area has a temperate climate suitable for large grazing lands, it has valleys where corn, maté, coffee and bananas grow luxuriantly, and a prolific lumber region. "There are probably a million Germans in the three Brazilian states mentioned above."[65]

The towns in these colonies bear German names, have German newspapers

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60 Cooper, 383.
61 As quoted in Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 145.
62 Cooper, 378.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid., 381.
65 Phayre, 56.

and the inevitable rifle and social clubs. "These clubs...have proved a very powerful aid in furthering the aims of The Fatherland."[66] Numerous schools under German instructors began to flourish, and instruction was given in German.

> In many districts the true Brazilian schools were absorbed or nullified, and Brazilian children had no alternative but to frequent the German schools, where they were not only obliged to join in the German patriotic exercises, but were actually taught the geography of their own country by means of maps upon which the States of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina, and Paraná were colored in as German colonies.[67]

It was felt by the Germans, that Latin America was under obligation to Germany. She believed that she had taught Brazil and Chile the lumber trades, brewing and sheepherding, had reorganized the Chilean army, given Germans to the teaching staff of the Argentine War Academy, established a German military mission in Peru, and had her German military system adopted by Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Paraguay.[68]

Germany was anxious also to maintain a powerful fleet in 1898, which would be capable of causing "America to think twice before making any attempt to apply the Monroe Doctrine in South America."[69] Thus would she protect her interest there. She could "not suffer that the countries of Latin America, one-seventh of the earth's surface, be closed to the influence of the German spirit of German labor."[70] And again, "We wish to im-

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66 "Germany in Brazil." The Literary Digest, May 6, 1916, 52:1273.
67 Ibid.
68 "Germany Wooing Latin America," 823.
69 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 145.
70 "Germany Wooing Latin America," 823.

press upon the world at large and the United States in particular,...that it is its /Germany's/ duty to create for its future generations a free field for a world-embracing activity...."[71]

This same attitude is found after World War I. The road to her expansion in the East was blocked, her foreign commerce had been destroyed, but her mental make-up, the desire to be master of the world, remained the same. "Conquest of South America would in time bring realization of the dreams of the Prussians,"[72] it was believed. The German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Herr Alfred Zimmermann, in his letter to Von Eckhardt, representative of the Imperial German Government in Mexico, on January 16, 1917, wrote:

> We intend to begin on the first of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: Make war together, make peace together, generous financial support, and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.[73]

Needless to say, President Carranza refused, and with the defeat of Germany, her imperialistic tendencies remained dormant until they were awakened by Hitler, culminating in World War II.

So much for the European countries' attitude toward, and influence in Latin America. Let us turn our eyes to the West now, for a look at the

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Edward Perry. "The German Menace to North and South America." The Living Age, March 10, 1917, 292:633.
[73] Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 154.

Japanese Empire.

Japan has long been seeking an outlet for both industrial products and immigrants in South America. She can not hope to put her surplus on to the continent of Asia, and expert conclusions point to Latin America as the way out. Y. Eki, head of a department in the Bureau of Colonization, stated, "South America is on trial as a field for colonization."[74]

Count Okuma, Premier of Japan in 1916 remarked, "South America, especially the northern part, will furnish ample room for our surplus."[75] It is always true that a nation with limited territorial possessions and a crowded and growing population, must be farsighted and energetic in its search for markets and fields for the colonization of its surplus people.

From 1900 to 1920 Japanese interest in Latin American commerce and colonization projects had been greater than ever before. Business organizations had sent one mission after another and the press had been filled with the subject. In 1907 Japan's trade with Latin America amounted to two million yen. In 1920 it totaled seventy one million yen.[76]

As early as 1906 and 1907 the opportunities offered by Hispanic America became a live topic in the Japanese press. The discussion appears to have been led by the steamship companies and colonization enterprises and their business associates.[77] The president of the Japanese shipping company, the Toyo Kisen Kaisha, remarked, "Our compatriots are boycotted in

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74 G. Charles Hodges. "Japanese Ambitions in Latin America." Sunset, the Pacific Monthly, October, 1916, 37:17.
75 Ibid., 16.
76 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 224.
77 Ibid., 225.

the United States, and they can not go into Australia. With the exception of Korea and Manchuria, into what countries can the Japanese immigrate? It is necessary that they be sent to South America, where riches abound and labor is scarce."[78]

In 1922 there were 31,000 Japanese in Brazil, 6,000 in Peru, 2,000 in Argentina, and 400 in Chile.[79] In 1927 there were probably less than 60,000 Japanese in all Hispanic America.[80] The next few years showa great increase.

In 1935, there were 9,611 Japanese immigrants to Brazil, this figure being 6,762 in excess of the quota.[81] Trouble ensued because of the obvious difficulty of assimilating so alien a people. In one case, cited by Burton,[82] a group of native Brazilians in an area largely populated by Japanese, solemnly, with tongue in cheek, petitioned Río to send them a Brazilian consul. Since then Japan has been kept within her quota of immigrants.

In 1937, there were about 500,000 Japanese in Brazil, more than in any other country of the world outside of Japan.[83] In Peru there were approximately 50,000 Japanese in this same year, but Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay have small Japanese colonies.

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Mexico are Japan's best Latin American customers. From 1934 to 1936 Japanese trade in textiles and toys

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78 Ibid.
79 As quoted in the Brazilian American, March 25, 1922, by Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 225.
80 Ibid.
81 Burton, 56.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.

increased rapidly,[84] there was an almost never-ending procession of Japanese good-will missions to the various South American countries, and strides in international diplomacy were made. A magazine entitled, Asia-America, is published in Tokyo. Articles in Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, and English boosted Japanese-Latin American trade and cultural relations. Japan was definitely seeking out Latin America until the outcome of World War II deprived her of the greater part of any empirical tendencies she had had.

The influence of the United States on Latin America has of necessity been the greatest and the most powerful. In tracing its growth we can readily see the strong reasons Latin America had for the growing feeling of alarm which was spreading throughout her republics.

In 1776 the United States achieved its independence and embarked upon its life as a nation, and not as thirteen individual colonies. In 1782 even before the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, John Adams said, "No dude usted que las naciones de Europa se eforzarán en atraernos dentro de su sistema político, pero nuestro interés está en mantenernos alejados de todo eso."[85] Washington's foreign policy is also well known.

The new nation, however, expanded rapidly. In 1787 it took in the Northwest Territory, in 1803 the territory of Louisiana was purchased from France and in 1819 Florida was acquired. The territory to the Pacif-

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[84] Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 228.

[85] Raul de Cardenas y Echarte. La política de los Estados Unidos en el continente Americano. La Habana Sociedad, Editorial Cuba Contemporanea, Habana, 1921, 86.

ic was rounded out by the acquisition of Texas in 1845, Oregon in 1846, parts of California, New Mexico and Arizona in 1848, the Gadsden Purchase in 1853 completing the nation's boundaries.

The Count of Aranda, Spanish ambassador to France, addressed a now famous document to King Charles III of Spain in 1784. It shows a remarkably prophetic insight of the future development of the United States, and the power that it was destined to wield over the western hemisphere. A section is quoted here:

> This republic has been born as it were a pygmy.... But a day will come when it will be a giant, a veritable awe-inspiring colossus in these regions....The first step will be to seize Florida so as to dominate the Gulf of Mexico. It will then conquer New Spain /Mexico/ and our vast empire to the southward, the defense of which will be rendered impossible to us, since we shall not be able to contend with a powerful nation established on the same continent and in its vicinity.[86]

The growth of the United States, as long as she stayed within her own boundaries, was not, on the whole, regarded as imperialistic by the foreign powers.

Cardenas notes three phases in the expansion of the United States:

> Primero, la ocupación del territorio inmediato a las trece colonias primitivas ocurrida antes de la independencia; después, las sucesivas anexiones de territorios contiguos, que se fueron convirtiendo en Estados de la Unión, y en último lugar, la adquisición de posesiones no contiguas, gobernadas como colonias.[87]

When, NapoleonIII in 1864 attempted to set up a European monarch, Maximilian, in Mexico, Secretary of State Seward took up the matter with

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86 William R. Shepherd. "The Monroe Doctrine Reconsidered." The Political Science Quarterly, March, 1924, 39:55

87 Cardenas y Echarte, 83.

the French government and the French troops were withdrawn. The Monroe Doctrine, promulgated by President Monroe in 1823 was not mentioned, but was really in operation. Also, "En 1867," writes Cardenas, "Ocurrió un hecho que vino a romper la que podríamos llamar tradición anti-imperialista de los Estados Unidos. Nos referimos a la compra a Rusia de la Alaska."[88]

The Monroe Doctrine had stated that, "The American continents...are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." This caused quite a stir in Europe, naturally. King Ferdinand appealed to the Holy Alliance to solicit mediation with the governments of Spanish America, but this action came to little consequence because of England's refusal to attend a European congress to discuss American affairs.[89]

Some Latin Americans received the Monroe Doctrine favorably. Simón Bolívar sent instructions to the Peruvian delegates to his cherished congress at Panama to publish a proclamation that would contain "an energetic and efficient declaration in regard to a prohibition of further European colonization in America and in opposition to European intervention in American affairs as had been made by President Monroe."[90]

Vice President Santander of Colombia evidently approved of the Monroe Doctrine. In La Gaceta Extraordinaria of Colombia, 27 de abril de 1824, he remarked, "The President of the United States has lately made

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88 Ibid., 86.
89 William Spence Robertson. "South America and the Monroe Doctrine." Political Science Quarterly, March, 1915, 30:85.
90 Ibid., 86.

his administration memorable by an act iminently just, an act worthy of the classic land of liberty."[91] He looked upon the United States as a powerful ally in case Colombia's independence and liberty should be menaced by the allied powers.

Señor Rivadavia, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the province of Buenos Aires, gave it a cordial reception, speaking with appreciation of the action taken by the United States during Monroe's administration in regard to the independence of South America.[92]

So much for the more favorable reactions. For the most part the rapidly growing states of the South felt that they were quite capable of handling their own affairs; and resented the implication that they needed protection. "They felt themselves of age, and the big brother attitude was a bitter pill for them to swallow."[93] Also, the Monroe Doctrine had been proclaimed without her prior knowledge or consent, and, it did not bind the United States not to expand territorially at the expense of its neighbors.[94]

Probably Monroe himself, and his Secretary of State Adams, would have been more amazed than any one else if they could have looked ahead some ninety years and have seen the position held by their jointly written message. "We have proof that they considered their declaration essentially an emergency measure, intended to hold back the Holy Alliance,

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91 Ibid., 87.
92 Ibid., 104.
93 Reighard, 45.
94 Delia Goetz and Varian Fry. The Good Neighbors. The Foreigh Policy Association, New York, 1939, 46.

and more or less of a makeshift until a more complete and wholesome policy could be arranged."[95]

Before 1896 the Doctrine was "regarded merely as an instrument for defense of the United States."[96] In 1896, with President Cleveland's ultimatum to Great Britain in the Venezuelan boundary dispute, the United States now claimed the right to prevent acts of European aggression on the American continents. In 1904, the Doctrine took on new meaning with Theodore Roosevelt's famous corollary, and the series of developments which culminated in the Spanish American War. Under the Roosevelt Corollary, the United States virtually undertook to become constable for the Western Hemisphere.[97]

This "Big Stick" raised a storm of protest. In the Corollary, Roosevelt stated:

> If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere, the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly,...to the exercise of an international police power.[98]

The development and accomplishments of Pan-Americanism, which was an

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95 Richard Dana Skinner. "International Democracy." The Nation, March 16, 1916, 102:306.

96 Raymond Leslie Buell. "The Montevideo Conference and the Latin American Policy of the United States." Foreign Policy Association, November 22, 1933, 9:217.

97 Ibid.

98 John Holladay Latane. From Isolation to Leadership. Doubleday, Page, and Company, New York, 1918, 138.

attempt to offset the distrust caused by the Monroe Doctrine and the growing imperialism of the United States will be discussed in a later chapter.

In the Orient, American diplomacy had a somewhat freer hand than in Europe. Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan in 1852-54 was quite a radical departure from the general policy of the United States of attending strictly to its own affairs. Japan had closed her ports to all intercourse with the outside world, but yielded when the United States sent a naval force to make her abandon her policy of exclusion.

In 1891 the United States overstepped the rules of international law in denying the right to purchase arms on the Pacific coast to one of the contestants in the civil war in Chile. "It had always been considered lawful for merchants to sell arms to all the world at peace or at war."[99] One of the United States warships chased the steamer Itata which was carrying the arms, and brought her back to San Diego where she was kept several months awaiting trial. "The case against her was eventually dismissed for she had committed no breach of international law."[100] This incident caused bitter feeling in Chile.

In 1895, the United States demanded that the British Guiana-Venezuelan boundary dispute be arbitrated, and in 1898 Spain lost the last of her colonies in the New World as a result of the Spanish American War. Cuba was freed, Hawaii annexed, Porto Rico retained by the United States as well as Guam, the Philippine Islands and a valuable naval station at

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99 Hiram Bingham. The Monroe Doctrine, an Obsolete Shibboleth. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1913, 26.

100 Ibid.

Guantanamo. Cardenas says, "Ninguna otra doctrina que no fuera la del imperialismo podía justificar estas anexiones."[101]

Various explanations have been given for President McKinley's decision to retain the Philippine group. He probably thought "they would not only provide a market for American goods...but that they would provide a naval base which would be of great assistance in upholding United States' interests in China."[102] Another factor was the letter received from Lord Salisbury warning the President that Germany was preparing to take over the Philippine Islands in case the United States should withdraw.[103]

In the Caribbean region, the United States had intervened in the affairs of Latin American lands to (1) maintain order, (2) secure free elections, (3) rehabilitate finances, (4) enforce rules of sanitation, (5) investigate reports of ill-treatment of Indians, (6) place them under military restraint, (7) arbitrate their disputes, (8) determine which president should be recognized, and (9) create directly or indirectly republics themselves. All of the above mentioned interventions in no way conform to the original interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The fallacy of the Monroe Doctrine, according to Latané, is that "While the United States undertook to prevent the encroachment of European powers in Latin America, it never for one moment admitted any limitations upon the possibility of its own expansion in this region."[104]

In 1901 Germany, Italy, and England established a blocade to bring a

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101 Cardenas y Echarte, 87.
102 Latané, 85.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid., 147.

Venezuelan dictator to terms, in order to collect some debts owed their citizens. The United States government protested and they withdrew.

In 1903, the United States assisted in bringing the Republic of Panama into existence. In return Panama concluded a treaty with the United States giving her wide powers of intervention in Panama and authorizing the United States to construct an Americanized and militarized canal. In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt established a customs receivership in the Dominican Republic to protect the canal.

A Central American conference convened in Washington in 1907 to bring order to this group of republics. A few years later President Taft made use of the treaties concluded at this conference to drive out of power the nationalist dictator of Nicaragua, José Zelaya.

In 1912 occurred the Magdalena Bay incident. Japanese fishermen wanted a fishing base there. They were dickering with the Mexican government for it. The United States, not anxious to have Japanese so close to the San Diego naval base, invoked the Monroe Doctrine, and the Mexican government refused Japan the concession.

In 1914 Vera Cruz was bombarded by United States marines and the Customs House seized because President Wilson refused to recognize General Huerta who had seized and imprisoned Francisco Madero, president of the republic.

In 1916, the Pershing expedition was sent into Mexico for the same reason, Wilson's determination to enforce his doctrine of "constitutionalism" which recognized no persons who overthrew their existing governments.

In 1915-1916 the United States carried out military occupations in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, with the result that both countries were placed under the rule of the American navy.

In 1921 Secretary of State Hughes sent a battleship and four hundred marines to Panama for the purpose of forcing it to turn over certain territory to Costa Rica.

All of these developments were, in the eyes of Latin America, inconsistent with the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. "On the contrary, they foreshadowed the exclusive domination of the United States in this hemisphere."[105]

It is no wonder that a great chorus of complaint arose in the nations to the south. Yankeephobia spread rapidly and sometimes attained the proportions of an epidemic. One Latin American wrote Woodrow Wilson as early as 1912, complaining in detail of the Caribbean policy of the United States, and begging that "the star-spangled banner cease to be a symbol of oppression in the New World."[106]

To Latin American resentment might be added suspicions and fears as to ulterior motives. McKinley may have not planned the annexation of Cuba, Wilson may have had no intentions of plotting the alienation of the Mexican territory, "but nobleness and moderation of men are seldom known abroad," and Latin Americans felt, not without reason, that, "there is danger in policies that so easily lend themselves to abuse; danger in o-

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105 Buell, 218.
106 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 282.

pening to benefactors the door where through despoilers may enter."[107]

In the United States the majority of the people, faced with the above arguments would say, "We don't want to exercise any control over those countries, we're only protecting our interests there." To their utter amazement, the Latin American can point to facts and figures. In less than one century we have annexed, by right of conquest alone, one million square miles of what was formerly Latin territory, and an equal addition in the next century would more than absorb all Central America.[108] "And he can add, quoting chapter and verse, that certain considerable interests are today advocating just such an aggression."[109]

Regarding United States trade with Latin America, in 1930, it was equal approximately to the combined total of its leading competitors, England, France, and Germany. It handled two thirds of the commerce of the Caribbean area, and had an investment total in Latin America of approximately six billion dollars."[110]

Inman,[111] in his article, "Imperialistic America," believes that the United States has stressed the economic relations between herself and Latin America too much. This attitude has not been able to accomplish the desired results. France captivates Latin America with her literature,

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107 Antonio Llano. "Pan-American Misunderstandings." The Forum, April, 1916, 55:488.
108 Reighard, 45.
109 Ibid.
110 Rippy, Latin America in World Politics, 278.
111 Samuel Guy Inman, "Imperialistic America." Atlantic Monthly, July, 1924, 134:113.

Great Britain with her good political sense, and the "United States presents herself to us as principally concerned with the conquest of our markets."[112] It is possible that at the end of the twentieth century the United States will find that, "...the profits on oil, bananas and sugar... were not worth the price of enmities developed...."[113]

It required a specialist to deal with Latin American affairs. Reighard says, "We, a nation of specialists, have failed in this, to send men trained in Latin trade, customs and culture to Latin America."[114] It will be well to remember that the Latin American Republics are always polite, but they "prefer to work out their own destinies without any...entangling alliances."[115]

Such were the influences at work in Latin America. Do not suppose that the thinkers, the literary men of Latin America saw all this and did and said nothing about it! A great clamor of protest was raised, not so much against the European nations and Japan as against the "Coloso del Norte," a protest whose basis is a plea to work out their own salvation, to use their own resources and intellects to give Hispanic America her place in the sun.

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112 Ibid., 114.
113 Ibid., 115.
114 Reighard, 73.
115 Phayre, 58.

CHAPTER III

JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ

Many were the voices that were raised against the imperialism of el "Coloso del Norte." One was that of José Enrique Rodó, philosopher, of Montevideo, Uruguay. Señor Rodó tried in his writings, to warn his countrymen, not so much of the territorial expansion of the United States, as of the danger which lies in imitating its utilitarian and materialistic outlook.

Latin America seemed to be waiting for such a writer to appear on the scene; a writer who would provide an artistic expression of their feelings, who would display their resentment toward the insidious infiltration of American culture, and who would feel the great danger of the empire of the North. As Vivas says, "Rodó has been more than a thinker and stylist; he has been a sort of prophet or patron saint."[1] The youth of the South have flocked to him to learn what he has to teach them about the modern Caliban who daily gains in influence over the Southern Ariel.

In the exquisite refinement of his culture, in his love for truth and beauty, in his balance between the humanistic tradition of European culture and the needs of American life, Rodó seemed to multitudes to be the writer Latin America had been waiting for. "He had extracted from all books not dull learning but living wisdom that could be the guide of no-

[1] Eliseo Vivas. "Southern Prophet." The Nation, April 10, 1929, 128:429.

ble and aspiring souls."[2] Goldberg calls him the "philosopher par excellence of his time, called into being (as are most great men) by the necessity of the epoch."[3]

Few, if any North Americans think of Latin America as a land of poets, artists, and critics. It is not surprising then, that few among them know so much as the name of the man considered by many, as Latin America's greatest prose writer. Ellis believes him to be the "best writer anywhere in the Castillian speech, and one of the most distinguished spirits of our time."[4] Another critic says, "En América y en España...José Enrique Rodó ha sido proclamado el primer prosista de Hispano-América."[5] Still others declare that, "Rodó es, sin duda alguna, la primera figura literaria del Continente."[6] Lloyd Morris in his article, "A Philosopher from the Plate," says, "The work of Rodó has very directly influenced thought, both throughout South America and in Spain, not only in its expression of literature but in the theory and practice of education as well."[7] He has occupied among Spanish American prose writers, the same position which Rubén Darío occupies in poetry. "But he is deemed not only the most important literary figure South America has produced within recent decades,

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2 William Rex Crawford. A Century of Latin-American Thought. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1944, 80.

3 Isaac Goldberg. Studies in Spanish American Literature. Brentano's Publishers, New York, 1920, 186.

4 Havelock Ellis. The Philosophy of Conflict. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1919,255.

5 Gonzalo Zaldumbide. "José Enrique Rodó." Revue Hispanique, June, 1918, 43:205.

6 Ventura García Calderón y Hugo D. Barbagelata. "La Literatura Uruguaya." Revue Hispanique, August, 1917, 40:495.

7 Lloyd Morris. "A Philosopher from the Plate." The Outlook, December 13, 1922, 132:674.

but its greatest thinker as well."[8]

José Enrique Rodó was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1872 of an old and well-established house. His youth was spent in an atmosphere of scholarship. His literary career began at an early age, for even at twenty-one, when he graduated from the University of Montevideo, he had surprised and delighted the faculty and evoked the admiration of his friends by his dissertations on literary and historical subjects.[9] At the age of twenty-six he was Professor of Literature at the University of Montevideo. In 1901 he abandoned teaching to begin his active literary career with the publishing of the Revista Nacional de Literatura y Ciencias Sociales, which he founded together with the brothers Martínez Vigil and Victor Pérez Petit. "In its columns Rodó first evinced his wonderful command of the Spanish language, clear, forceful style of expression, and keenness of intellect for which he subsequently became so noted."[10] He later compiled many of these articles in a book called El Mirador de Prospero.

Señor Rodó held many high offices and participated in various activities during his lifetime. He was Secretary of the National Library of Uruguay, and a member of the national parliament from 1901 to 1917. "There he established a reputation as an orator second only to his fame as a writer."[11]

His personal life was remarkably of a piece with his central doctrine of perpetual and unremitting self-renewal. "Reformase es vivir..."

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8 Vivas, 429.
9 "Prominent in Pan American Affairs." Bulletin of the Pan American Union, July, 1917, 45:67.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., 69.

are the opening words of his most notable book, Ariel; like Emerson, he counseled that we should "live ever in a new day."

It is stated that, "Those who were his students at the time he gave his most absorbing lectures in literature..., never saw him laugh in the professorial chair, and all admired the gravity, untainted by petulancy of that twenty-six year old master...."[12] From intimate acquaintances it is learned that, like Martí, he was a fascinating conversationalist.[13] Also, his writings had the same quality of perfection as his speech. They seem to have required little polishing. "It sprang mature from a mind that had done all the editing within."[14]

In 1917 he was appointed European correspondent by Caras y Caretas, a Buenos Aires weekly journal. He went to Spain, from there to Italy, and after a very brief illness, died at Palermo, in May, 1917. Henceforth his slender and very tall figure will no longer be seen striding rapidly through the streets of his native city, as his friend and fellow countryman Barbagelata has described it, "One arm swinging like an oar, and lifted acquiline face that recalled a condor of the Andes."[15]

Andrés Gonzáles-Blanco, in his Escritores Representativas de América, calls Rodó, "The magician of Spanish prose, the publicist who writes the best Spanish in all the globe, he who has best known to play the instrument of our language in all its mastery."[16] Another critic writes, "Who could have imagined that beyond the sea there was to flourish at the very

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12 Goldberg, 189.
13 Ibid., 192.
14 Ibid.
15 As quoted in Ellis, 245.
16 As quoted in Goldberg, 190.

end of the nineteenth century, the greatest prose writer of the Castillian language?"[17] It is this beauty of writing and perfection of form which wins him greatest praise.

Three-fourths of most material, when transported to paper, does not say with exactitude what the writer intended to say. With Rodó this was not the case.

> Rodó dice siempre, con impecable justeza lo que quiso decir. Sin arrebatos, sin violencias, sin ningún movimiento de pasión, con la fuerza incontrastable de lo que tiene que ser, traslada sus ideas al papel, y sus ideas, desnudas, como mármoles perfectos, quedan ahí viviendo la vida serena de la inmortalidad. No puede pedirse claridad más elegante ni más consumada perfección. Rodó es el estilista por excelencia, el estilista más grande del mundo americano.[18]

Goldberg maintains that the beauty of his diction and thought is a reflection of the author's own beauty; that his was a life that discovered riches where others had seen only monotony.[19]

Rodó was considered an intellectual en la más grande y hermosa acepción de la palabra, and his intellectual concentration was as intense as its expression was various. "His writings reveal a familiarity with foreign literature that might well be envied by a mind devoted exclusively to scholarship."[20] He apparently attained a rare serenity and lucity, remaining always indifferent to applause. It seemed to some that his attitude was "the outcome of a temperament almost too calm and reason-

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17 Ibid., 191.
18 Victor Pérez Petit. En la Atenas del Plata. Tipografia Atlantida, Montevideo, 1944, 278.
19 Goldberg, 218.
20 Morris, 673.

able."[21] The fact that he was never known to be in love substantiates this feeling.[22] An intimate friend of his writes, "Frío, indiferente, como si el atractivo del sexo bello no despertara en su alma ninguna resonancia, vivió su vida sin amores y sin deseos...."[23] Many believe that this explains the lack of passion which resulted in the impassibility of his prose, and the august serenity of his thought.

Let us turn then, to the works of this philosopher, "whose ideas found expression in unusual beauty,"[25] who is considered "among the great essayists of his generation,"[26] a man who "llena el espíritu de una inmanente música de ideas,"[27] and who devoted his time to the defense of idealism which he considered characteristic of the Latin peoples, and to a resolute attack on the utilitarian spirit of the big neighbor to the North.

His love for his own country is embodied in three of his finest essays, "Rubén Darío," "Bolívar," and "Juan Montalvo." Although he did write most excellent verse, his talent is shown in his virile and sonorous prose, especially in the form of the essay. Among his more ambitious works are Ariel, Motivos de Proteo and El Mirador de Prospero.

Ariel he dedicates to youth, and to a disinterested desire for knowledge and beauty as the two paths upon which truth may be met.[28] The purpose of this classic essay is at once apparent from its symbolistic title.

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21 Ellis, 244.
22 Ibid.
23 Pérez Petit, 247.
24 Ibid.
25 Morris, 673.
26 Goldberg, 186.
27 Zaldumbide, 288.
28 Morris, 674.

It is a manifesto of Ariel against Caliban, of beauty against ugliness, of the spirit against a myopic utilitarianism, and has been called the intellectual breviary of Spanish American youth.[29] "Ariel habla a los jóvenes en la crisis sentimental de la pubertad, y lo adoptaron los estudiantes como el manual escolar del idealismo."[30]

In Ariel, the master teacher, Prospero, is bidding his students goodbye as they gather about him after a long year of work. In the hall is a bronze statue of Ariel, who embodies the mastery of reason and of sentiment over the baser impulses of unreason. Ariel represents the spirituality of civilization, the vivacity and grace of the intelligence, that highest form of man who has no trace of Caliban, symbol of sensuality and stupidity in him.[31] "He invokes Ariel as his inspiration for he has derived from his favorite Renan the idea that Ariel represents the noblest, most winged part of the spirit of man...."[32] This imaginary valedictory to the students who are about to leave him is "less a statement of theory of life than an invitation to formulate one."[33]

Rodó's comments upon the United States reveal him as a keen student of modern civilization. He recognizes its power of carrying through all projects of a practical nature, in which the will is the dominant force. He recognizes, too, their lack as a nation, of spiritual cultivation and refinement.

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29 Goldberg, 195.
30 García Calderón y Barbagelata,491.
31 José Enrique Rodó. Ariel. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1929, 11.
32 Crawford, 111.
33 Morris, 673.

He believes that any severe judgment formed upon their neighbor to the north should begin, "por rendirles, como se haría con altos adversarios, la formalidad caballeresca de un saludo."[34] He salutes them for having revealed completely the greatness and dignity of labour, for their sleepless and unsatiable instinct of curiosity, and the wonders they have done with science. "Templan y afinan en el músculo el instrumento precioso de la voluntad."[35] Their history is a very paroxysm of virile activity, their genius may be defined as "el universo de los dinamistas, la fuerza en movimiento,"[36] and "Si algo le salva colectivamente de la vulgaridad, es ese extraordinario alarde de energía que lleva a todas partes...."[37]

After giving sincere recognition to the genius and brilliancy of the United States, he wants to know if he has acquired the right to complete the picture by criticizing on the other side of the ledger. He asks, "Esa febricitante inquietud que parece centuplicar en su seno el movimiento y la intensidad de la vida, ¿tiene un objeto capaz de merecerla y un estímulo bastante para justificarla?"[38] He believes that, unprecedented though its triumph in all spheres of material aggrandizement is, its civilization has produced as a whole, a singular impression of insufficiency, of emptiness. The North American seems to live for the immediate reality of the present, subordinating all else to the accumulation of wealth and power. He likens it to what Bourget said of the intelligence

34 Rodó, 80.
35 Ibid., 84.
36 Ibid., 85.
37 Ibid., 86.
38 Ibid., 87.

of his character, the Marquis Horbert, "Es un monte de leña al cual no se ha hallado modo de dar fuego."[39] He believes the vital spark is as yet lacking, though he has great faith that the bundle of wood will one day burst into glorious flame.

The North American, he maintains, acquires riches, but does not acquire good taste. He cites the example of a man buying a picture to add to his collection just as he would buy a new toy, never having felt the beauty and divine quality of the work.[40]

Even to science, "No le lleva...un desinteresado anhelo de verdad, ni se ha manifestado ningún caso capaz de amarla por sí misma. La investigación no es para él sino el antecedente de la aplicación utilitaria."[41]

The ideal of the beautiful makes no appeal to the descendent of the stern Puritan, and he is not concerned with thought or the true in any absolute sense, but only as a solution of the present and practical problem.[42]

Rodó berates them for their impatience saying, "Impaciencias...exigen vanamente del tiempo la alteración de su ritmo imperioso."[43] The perfect rhythm of the universe can not be hurried.

Concerning the superiority complex of the relatively new nation to the North, who thinks herself far above older and more stable civilizations, he says, "Ellos aspirarían a revisar el Génesis para ocupar esa

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39 Ibid., 90.
40 Ibid., 92.
41 Ibid., 93.
42 Crawford, 85.
43 Rodó, 115.

primera página."[44]

With all their struggle with ignorance, their wonderful system of education, Rodó still believes the only gain has been a sort of universal semiculture, and a profound indifference to the higher:

> En igual proporción que la ignorancia radical, disminuyen, en el ambiente de esa gigantesca democracia, la superior sabiduría y el genio. He ahí por qué la historia de su actividad pensadora es una progresión decreciente de brillo y de originalidad. Mientras en el período de la independencia y la organización surgen, para representar lo mismo el pensamiento que la voluntad de aquel pueblo, muchos nombres ilustres, medio siglo más tarde Tocqueville puede observar respecto a ellos que 'los dioses se van.'[45]

Ellis remarks that Rodó refrains from insinuating that the civilization of the United States is symbolized by Caliban, "such a suggestion would be alien to his gracious and sympathetic attitude,"[46] but that he also never directly brings South America on to the scene. "He would gladly, one divines, claim for his own continent the privilege of representing Ariel. But he realized that much remained to do before that became possible."[47]

Rodó, however, remains essentially democratic; not to be would be the condemnation of Latin America as much as of Anglo-Saxon America. He does maintain nevertheless, that there is no distinction more easily lost sight of in the popular mind, than that between equality of opportunity and actual equality among members of organized society.

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44 Ibid., 102.
45 Ibid., 94.
46 Ellis, 236.
47 Ibid., 24.

> El deber del Estado consiste en colocar a todos los miembros de la sociedad en distintas condiciones de tender a su perfeccionamiento...en predisponer los medios propios para provocar uniformemente la revelación de las superioridades humanas, dondequiera que existan.[48]

Democrady alone can conciliate equality at the outset with an inequality at the end which gives full scope for the best and most apt to work towards the good of the whole.[49] Rodó insists on the need for selection, believing that it is not the destruction but the education of democracy which is needed in order to further this process of natural selection.

He quotes Bourget as believing that universal triumph of democratic institutions will make civilization lose in profundity what it gains in extension.[50] but counters with the statement that, "Desde el momento en que haya realizado la democracia su obra de negación con el allanamiento de las superioridades injustas, la igualidad conquistada no puede significar para ella sino un punto de partida."[51] Democracy, then, is a situation in which intelligence and virtue receive their authority from prestige and liberty.

The great danger of democracy, he believes, lies in the sanctioning of the predominance of mere numbers because of the universality and equality of rights, and the foregoing of the idea of legitimate human superiorities.[52] The degree of grandeur of a civilization can be gauged by the

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48 Rodó, 68.
49 Ellis, 240.
50 Rodó, 55.
51 Ibid., 56.
52 Ibid., 58.

higher order of the thinking or of feeling thereby made possible.[53] Also, each superior being owes to others more in proportion to his excess in ability over them. Equality at the starting point is necessary in order to produce at the finish that inequality which gives the palm to the apter scholar or the greater man.[54] The levelling by the middle classes tends ever to plane down what little remains of "intelligentsia," and the flowers are mown by the machine when the weeds remain.[55]

So considered, democracy becomes a struggle, not to reduce all to the lowest common level, but to raise all towards the highest degree of possible culture. "Democracy in this sense retains within itself an imprescriptible element of aristocracy, which lies in establishing the superiority of the best with the consent of all."[56] It recognizes its own best elements and establishes them in a position resting on the free consent of its fellows.[57]

Ariel, which is an invitation to the life of the spirit, is likewise a denunciation of the philosophy of utilitarianism. Rodó gives two main causes for the prevailing spirit of utility: revelations of natural science and universal diffusion and triumph of democratic ideas.[58] Renan, whom he admires so much, believes that where the democratic spirit dominates, material welfare will supercede all else, making man bow the knee to utility.[59]

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53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., 69.
55 Ibid., 94.
56 Ellis, 24.
57 Crawford, 83.
58 Rodó, 53.
59 Ibid., 54.

Rodó can see the benefits of utilitarianism however, if it is made a prelude to idealism. Again, however, as the general culture of society increases, individual activities are limited, the field of action is restricted, and specialization creates an ever narrower field in which idealism attempts to flourish.

Morris gives as an explanation for the great utilitarian outlook of the United States the quality of its beginnings. Its first years were largely preoccupied with the conquest of physical nature..."Like Science, democracy was under the necessity of being practical."[60]

Rodó points out that history shows a definite relation of growth between the progress of utilitarian activity and the ideal. He cites Bagehot's example which states that the benefits of navigation may never have been attained if it were not for the dreamers, apparently idle, who contemplated the movements of the stars.[61] "Sin el brazo que nivela y construye, no tendría paz el que sirve de apoyo a la noble frente que piensa."[62]

For living is an art, not a science, and conduct might be considered the art of right living. The multitude today is contemptuous of all this, it seems. "Hod carriers are paid more than teachers; while as for thinkers, artists, poets, the world now seems to have no use for them."[63]

The fact that the United States has a glorious future before it does not constitute any valid reason why South America should slaveishly imi-

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60 Morris, 674.
61 Rodó, 104.
62 Ibid., 103.
63 José Enrique Rodó. Ariel. Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1922, Introductory essay by F.J. Stimson, xi.

tate it, and abandon its own heritage, Crawford[64] believes. Admiration for the greatness of the United States has been growing in Latin America, and it is fatally easy to pass from admiration to imitation. In opposition to this tendency, some later thinkers such as Manuel Ugarte and Rufino Blanco-Fombona, have gone further than Rodó himself, for he is not absolute in his opposition. The example of the strong, he believes, has much to teach us. But to go so far as to give up their own essential nature, that is another matter, and he calls a halt.[65] "La admiración por su grandeza...es un sentimiento que avanza a grandes pasos en el espíritu de nuestros hombres dirigentes, y aún más quizá en el de las muchedumbres, fascinables por la impresión de la victoria."[66] Sentiment and reason should determine the bounds to this admiration and imitation. "En sociabilidad, como en literatura, como en arte, la imitación inconsulta no hará nunca sino deformar las líneas del modelo."[67] He also points out that there is something ignoble about such an attempt. "El cuidado de la independencia interior, la de la personalidad, la del criterio, es una principalísima forma del respeto propio."[68]

Pedro Henríquez Ureña in his book, Literary Currents in Hispanic America, tells of Rodó's warning against "the injudicious aping of a civilization that seemed to him a magnificent torso, not a finished statue."[69]

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64 Crawford, 85.
65 Ibid., 84.
66 Rodo, 75.
67 Ibid., 77.
68 Ibid.
69 Pedro Henríquez Ureña. Literary Currents in Hispanic America. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945, 179.

Rodó was known as an "avowed enemy of imitation in any field."[70]

Our essayist gives some thought to the growth of large cities as an indication of the utilitarian side of life today. "La gran ciudad es, sin duda, un organismo necesario de la alta cultura. Pero así la grandeza cuantitativa de la población como la grandeza material de sus instrumentos, de sus armas...son sólo medios...y en ningún caso resultados."[71] A city is not great though it occupy all the space around the towers of Nimrod, nor beautiful because it was paved with flagstones of alabaster and girt with the gardens of Semiramis. A city is great when it has left for posterity an epoch of human thought, a horizon of history.[72] "Royal capitals, avenues of proud palaces, are a narrower home than the desert for man's thinking when it is not thought that overloads them."[73]

The growth of these large centers of industrialism indicates a great change in values. It seems lately that "only those utilities which could be fixed and embodied in material objects and multiplied in great quantities for universal demand were deemed of any value."[74] As examples, Stimson cites newspapers instead of books, movies for plays, casts for sculpture, canned foods for fresh, delicatessan replacing home cooking, state schedules for the individual teacher, trusts for private initiative, and "everywhere machinery for handicraft, applied science for the arts, and crowd imitation or the mob spirit for the free mind."[75]

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70 Goldberg, 237.
71 Rodó, 110.
72 Ibid., 111.
73 Ibid.
74 Stimson, vii.
75 Ibid., viii.

Moving men or objects with lightning speed from one place to another, does not better humanity. The multiplication of material objects without beauty or value in themselves does not improve man's civilization. "Value may be defined as that which gives strength to life and elevation to the soul."[76] Stimson[77] believes that beauty does this; and purity of thought; and these are works of art and of teaching, not of science. Science should be the handmaiden of life, the Caliban who serves Ariel.

So Prospero advises his students. He admonishes them also regarding their choice of a vocation. Some will be men of science, he says, some men of art, others of action. Whatever field they choose, he reminds them that there still remains one universal profession which should supercede all others, to be a man. "Aspirad, pues, a desarrollar en lo posible, no un solo aspecto sino la plentitud de vuestro ser."[78] No one function should ever prevail over that final end. Too often the development of man's inner life is forgotten, while he uses his precious time in the service of Caliban. Even in material servitude there is a way to keep free one's inner self, the self of reason and of feeling. "No entreguéis nunca a la utilidad o a la pasión sino una parte de vosotros."[79]

As general culture increases, the field of individual activity tends to be more and more restricted to one phase. As this becomes increasingly the case, great care must be taken to remember that, "The humane life demands, not the intensive cultivation of a single aptitude, but the bal-

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76 Ibid., ix.
77 Ibid.
78 Rodó, 27.
79 Ibid., 32.

anced exercise of all human capacities...."[80]

One of our worst errors is the view that existence is divided into two consecutive and naturally separated parts, that in which we learn and that in which we use the results of the accumulated knowledge.[81] Rodó maintains that life is a perpetual "becoming," so it would follow then that knowledge is a constant acquiring. "That eternal youth which Rodó preached, and which he so well exemplified, is attained by the constant self-renewal without which life becomes worse than vegetative, sinking to the level of the mineral kingdom."[82]

Señor Rodó has a very optimistic quality about his thinking. Believing in the wealth of spiritual reserves within each of us and the abundance of latent power, he maintains that "self" is an inexhaustible fund of potentialities and that the frustration of any one power is compensated for by the discovery of another.[83] One writer believed that Rodó's greatest service to the youth of South America and of the world was the fact that he realized "the infinite possibilities of the human species; while others were properly and laudably enough, seeking self-expansion from within outward, he delved from without inward and revealed the immense store of riches there."[84]

> Hoy...una formidable fuerza se levanta: la influencia política de una plutocracia representada por los todopoderosos aliados de los trusts, monopolizadores de la producción y dueños de la vida económica.1.uno de

80 Morris, 673.
81 Goldberg, 212.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid., 185.

> los rasgos más merecedores de interés en la actual fisonomía del gran pueblo.[85]

Rodó's great concern is that the youth of Latin America will be led to imitate this power to the North. He believes too, that the United States is anxious to spread its propaganda abroad, as fast as its utilitarian genius grows, and they come to believe it predestined for all humanity. "Hoy ellos aspiran manifestamente al primado de la cultura universal, a la dirección de las ideas y se consideran a sí mismos los forjadores de un tipo de civilización que prevalecerá."[86]

He believes that Latin America has much to teach North America in relation to values and the worth-while things of life, although Latin Americans may have sometimes thought themselves unfortunate to be so far removed from the great material movements of the day. "Yet they have valued personal dignity as they have valued courtesy, less interested in machinery than in the art of life, and have placed 'la joie de vivre' above the marketing of utilities."[87] Stimson writes, "It is not a trivial thing that of all countries of the world, the Latin-American ones are those where poets are most numerous and all that poetry stands for is most prized."[88]

Rodó's dream was a spiritual union of America, in fact, such was the title of one of the last articles he wrote in Rome. Ellis explains Rodó's theory thus: "The preservation of the original duality of America, while

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85 Rodó, 98.
86 Ibid., 101
87 Stimson, xiii.
88 Ibid., xiv.

maintaining a genial and emulatory difference, at the same time favours concord and solidarity."[89] Latin America should jealously guard its culture and personality, for in most great epochs of history there have been two distinct co-existing forces which, "por los concertados impulsos de su oposición...mantienen el interés y el estímulo de la vida."[90] Rodó believes the differences in genius of the two Americas should not develop into imitation of one race by another but "a la reciprocidad de sus influencias y al atinado concierto de los atributos en que se funda la gloria de los dos."[91]

Ariel was widely read and discussed for many years from Mexico and the Antilles to Argentina and Chile, and Arielismo replaced Nordomania, at least among many of the young.[92]

In 1909, Rodó published Los Motivos de Proteo, in which, as one writer states, "His philosophy is developed to the point of a dynamic system."[93] It is made up of connected essays and parables on the development of human personality and is not so much a fund of thought as a well of inspiration; not so much a goal asa direction; not so much a body as a spirit.[94] It seems to be his purpose to reveal to his readers the veritable universe of worlds they hold within themselves. Again it is his style of writing which draws praise from every side. Crawford[95] describes his aph-

89 Ellis, 237.
90 Rodó, 79.
91 Ibid., 80.
92 Henríquez Ureña, 179.
93 Goldberg, 207.
94 Ibid., 225.
95 Crawford, 86.

orisms and parables as having a chiseled marmoreal beauty, and Goldberg states, "The Motivos de Proteo should be known in every language and should form part of every educational system."[96]

El Mirador de Prospero, published in 1913, is a collection of criticisms, articles, and speeches, and essays on Bolívar, Juan Carlos Gómez, Juan María Gutiérrez, and many others. These essays have been called "inimitable cameos" by one critic.[97] In this work he deals with the more concrete problems of the Latin America of today.

Rodó's work is criticized of course. Some believe him too preoccupied with style, others say his anti-United States attitude fails to appreciate certain elements of idealism in the United States, that he is too abstract, and fails to see social problems. His essential subject matter is values, says one critic, "And it begins to seem insufficient as a discussion of values, for it lacks any metaphysical foundation."[98] Ellis[99] maintains he has attributed too fixed a character to North American civilization, not having taken into account recent intellectual and spiritual trends in the continent to the North.

Whatever the criticisms are, all 'lower their rapiers' in salute to his faith in the future of the two Americas, a faith which believes that:

> El espíritu de aquel titánico organismo social, que ha sido hasta hoy voluntad y utilidad solamente, sea también algún día inteligencia, sentimiento, idealidad.. que, de la enorme fragua, surgirá, en último resultado, el ejemplar humano, generoso, armónico, selecto....[100]

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96 Goldberg, 226.
97 Ibid., 227.
98 Crawford, 90.
99 Ellis, 239.
100 Rodó, 107.

CHAPTER IV

MANUEL UGARTE

Manuel Ugarte, considered by Fred J. Rippy as "one of Latin America's most brilliant thinkers and writers"[1] devoted and continues to devote his entire life to the solution of the problem facing Latin America in her relations with her northern neighbor. José Enrique Rodó was conscious of this same problem, realized that Latin America and the United States had much to learn from each other, yet his approach to the problem was more of a philosophical one. Manuel Ugarte, on the other hand, is a living dynamo; it is he who wishes to carry the torch, to awaken Latin America with a clarion call, to kindle her into a realization of her own destiny. He has spent his own fortune and the best part of his life not only writing stirring articles and books, but visiting and speaking in the capital of every Latin American country to awaken them to the growing danger of North American imperialism.

Manuel Ugarte was born in Buenos Aires in 1878, son of Floro Ugarte and Sabino Rivera. He was educated at the Colegio Nacional of his native Argentina, published a book of Versos in 1894, and a work entitled Serenata in 1897. At the age of twenty he went to Paris to complete his literary training and to seek his fame.

In 1900-1901 he visited the United States and Mexico and became con-

1 Manuel Ugarte. Destiny of a Continent. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1925, Introduction by Fred J. Rippy, vii.

vinced from what he saw and read while there that Latin America was in great danger of being absorbed and dominated by the United States.

He returned to France, and for the next ten years devoted himself to pure literature and to propaganda designed to arouse Europe and his American compatriots against the Yankee Peril. In Paris, 1901, he published Paisajes Parisienses, in 1902 Crónicas del Bulevar with a prologue by Rubén Darío, and in 1903 Novela de las horas y los dias. In Madrid in 1903 he published Cuentos de la Pampa, stories of gaucho life in his native Argentina. Manuel Urruela states that this work "revealed him as a really great writer," that it was translated into several languages and "brought him merited fame as a novelist."[2]

Later literary publications were Una tarde de otono, (Paris, 1906), Vendimias juveniles (Paris, 1907), Burbujas de la vida (Paris 1908), and Las nuevas tendencias literarias (Valencia, 1909). Following these his works were mainly of a propaganda nature rather than the purely literary one.

In 1910 when he published El porvenir de la América Latina, a compilation of his ideas previously written up for journals of France, Spain and Italy, many European writers all commended its sentiments, but as Ugarte himself said, the South Americans were the only ones who accused him of being an alarmist, or of being too young to know what he was talking about. "All realized that the attack was pending, and protested against it; the only one which neither saw nor protested was the victim."[3]

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2 Manuel Urruela. "Manuel Ugarte Champions Latin-America." The Literary Digest International Book Review, January, 1926, 4:91.

3 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 24.

He very logically concluded that he could be more effective by lecturing in his native land, by warning them directly of the influences menacing from within and without.

> The ever more clearly recognized necessity of contributing toward the salvation of Latin America's future by means of a propaganda which should arouse in men's minds superior impulses and noble idealisms capable of laying the first foundation...of a co-ordination of international policy, thus led the peaceful writer to desert his table and mount the platform, in order to come into direct contact with the public.[4]

His first lecture on the subject was delivered in Barcelona, Spain, on May 25, 1910. Its title was, "Causas and Consequences of the American Revolution." This was the starting point of the campaign which he took the following year throughout all of South America.

On October 14, 1911, he gave a lecture at the Sorbonne, and the entire press published long reports and favorable comments. Later in that month he began his long Latin American tour, again visiting the United States and giving a lecture at Columbia University. His purpose was to "establish a contact with each of the republics whose cause I had defended en bloc,"[5] and to "discover the state of men's minds in these vast territories, their attitude towards independent life...and a sounding of their collective soul...."[6]

His tour lasted through 1912 and 1913. In 1917 he made his third journey to Mexico at the invitation of President Carranza, returning then

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4 Ibid., 25.
5 Ibid., 28.
6 Ibid., 30.

to his native Buenos Aires. The Socialist Party there wanted him to run for Congress.[7] He refused because his heart was set on a definite task. Ugarte's voluntary renouncement of political honors has practically surrounded him with a halo. In the Latin American countries political achievements are considered among the highest of all honors, so the result was that his personal prestige was greatly enhanced by his disinterestedness. "Pledging his life to the furtherance of an apparently forlorn cause, he has won, in the Spanish-speaking countries an authority unmatched by any one of his contemporaries."[8]

Ugarte established a newspaper designed to be the mouthpiece of Latin nationalism, but the war interrupted him rather abruptly. He was appointed European correspondent to a large Buenos Aires daily, still finding time to publish a constant stream of books, "which met the increasing favor of the critics."[9]

In 1922 he published El destino de un continente (Paris, 1922), La patria grande (Paris, 1922), and Mi campaña Hispano-americana (Paris, 1922). El destino de un continente is considered the apogee of his work[10] and La patria grande is a compilation of newspaper articles intended to reinforce the principles set forth in his previous books. Mi campaña Hispanoamericana is a compilation of some of his lectures and some anecdotal impressions.

An invitation from El Centro de Cultura Hispano-Americana of Madrid

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7 Urruela, 91.
8 Ibid., 92.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.

brought him again to Spain. From there he returned to Paris where it became his dream to start another line of action from Europe, by founding a publication of a continental character, "which should gather up the scattered threads and serve as a rallying point for our hopes."[11] This illusion vanished and as he says, "He who had begun the struggle fifteen years before, relying upon his economic independence, left Buenos Aires with no other means of subsistence than his contributions to the papers."[12]

In Paris he wrote for many journals propounding his new ideas. Among them were El País of Buenos Aires, La Época of Madrid, La Revue Mondiale of Paris, and the Paris Journal. He emphasized also the detriment to other nations of the United States getting all of the South American markets.

In 1925 Ugarte published a satire, El crimen de las máscaras, a criticism of modern society written in the guise of a Punch and Judy show. It suggests "a mixture of Benavente and Shaw, blended with the extraordinary magic of Ugarte's personal style."[13]

Urruela believes him to be "one of the most interesting and colorful personalities of modern Latin-American letters," and possessor of an "extraordinary fluency of prose."[14] There is no doubt of the sincerity of his work, his very honest desire to see Latin America stand on her own feet, and construct her own future without sacrificing her own intrinsic nature.

> Empujado por la situación, he abandonado mi modesto retiro para correr de ciudad en ciudad, difundiendo la alarma. Siempre he creído que el escritor no

11 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 272.
12 Ibid.
13 Urruela, 92.
14 Ibid., 91.

> puede dejar de ser un ciudadano, y es como ciudadano que voy golpeando a todas las puertas para recordar la catástrofe que nos amenaza.[15]

Many accused him of being paid by various agencies and governments, of being an agitator, a disturber of the peace. To these he said, "Yo no soy el agitador, ni el demagogo que dicen algunos. Soy por el contrario un hombre sereno y amigo de la paz."[16] He did not think of his journey as that of an individual voicing a personal opinion, but as "la interpretación visible de la inquietud que nos devora, de la ansiedad que nos oprime a todos."[17]

Señor Ugarte tried to keep an open mind, to be on guard against letting himself be blinded by appearances, or "seeing things solely from the point of view of a thesis, forcing the facts, as some do, to fit in with a predetermined conclusion."[18] He resolved also to let nothing hinder him from telling the whole truth. On his trip through the Latin American countries, even if he had to wound the local pride of any region he resolved to tell the truth as he saw it.

He is considered a fine orator, although he himself says, "Yo no soy orador, yo no tengo la elocuencia necesario para transmitir a los demás los entusiasmos y las convicciones que me arrebatan y me han hecho abandonar el arte, la familia y mi propio bienestar para salir a correr el continente en estas quijotadas que tantas penas me cuestan."[19]

At the conclusion of his preface to El destino de un continente,

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15 Manuel Ugarte. Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana. Editorial Cervantes, Barcelona, 1922, 126.
16 Ibid., 116.
17 Ibid., 126.
18 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 34.
19 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 123.

Señor Ugarte says, "From those who have attacked us we beg a fair hearing for our ideas. May this book be received by our younger generation in an atmosphere of lofty patriotism. The author has written it in all sincerity."[20] Let us then give him a fair hearing, for his sincerity is evident.

There was of course, both favorable and unfavorable criticism of his trip and his works. Rippy believes that "the views of Ugarte and of all those Latin Americans who fear and distrust us are not without a measure of justification."[21] Crawford states that while Ugarte claims to admire the United States, "he does not...miss a chance to record an unfortunate boast or confession on the part of North American spokesmen or to uncover a shady diplomatic transaction."[22] He criticizes him quite severely when he says, "To support commonplace thoughts with great vehemence and doubtful facts is hardly enough to made a pensador."[23] A reviewer of his work, El destino de un continente, declares it to be "an exhaustive, if somewhat inaccurate and extravagant expose of 'Yankee Imperialism'" and that he prepared his indictments "with more patriotic passion than sound reasoning."[24] Another reviewer of this same book states that he "is not always accurate and he contimually fails to maintain a distinction between acts that are official and those that are private," adding that he believes the cold bloodedness and astuteness of the United States has been

20 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, xxi.
21 Ibid., Introduction by Rippy, xvi.
22 William Rex Crawford. A Century of Latin American Thought. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1944, 149.
23 Ibid., 148.
24 "The Destiny of a Continent." The Saturday Review of Literature, February 27, 1926, 2:596.

greatly overrated.[25] He goes on to say that at any rate this view of the other side of the Monroe Doctrine will be instructive to many heretofore too much inclined to look at the subject from the angle of the conventional school histories.

Urruela[26] believes that the anti-Yankeephobia of Fombona and Vasconcelos, though vitriolic, contains few constructive criticisms and lays the blame for Latin American unrest mainly to foreign causes, whereas Ugarte is a merciless critic of his own race. "His broadness of vision commands involuntary attention."[27] He can see where Ugarte's indictment of American imperialism may seem overdrawn to many American readers, but to those conversant with conditions in many Latin American countires, his statements are "fairly representative of the more moderate trend of opinion in these regions."[28]

There is no doubt that the rising generation in Latin America has been greatly influenced by his work, and it is to them, after all, that he addressed most of his pleas, as it is to them he turned to rectify the mistakes made in Latin America's past so that her future would be more nearly her own. We might add also, that his work is not only important to the young people of Latin America but to the American student of Latin American affairs.

Before Señor Ugarte delves into his study of North American imperial-

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25 R.L. Duffus. "South America's Yankee Peril." New York Times Book Review, November 8, 1925, 1.
26 Urruela, 91.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 92.

ism, he wishes to make known his own personal attitude toward the United States. In his preface to El destino de un continente, he says, "Nobody admires more than I do the greatness of the United States and few can have a clearer idea of the necessity of entering into relations with them in the future developments of our life. But this has to be carried out on a footing of equality."[29] In spite of the reputation of a Yankee hater that has been ascribed to him, he declares that he has never been an enemy of that great nation and that, "For anyone who reflects, hatreds can not exist in international politics."[30] As Duffus says, "He pays us...the most subtle and profound of compliments, that of admiring our achievements, our energy and what seems to him our far-seeing statesmanship, while also fearing us."[31]

Ugarte compliments the North American on his great mental capacity saying, "There are ideas fifty stories high which correspond to the fifty story buildings."[32] When he spoke at the University of Columbia at New York in 1912, he said, "Vengo a hablar como adversario de una política. De más está decir que esto no significa que yo vengo a hablar aquí como adversario de un pueblo."[33] He believes the United States, occupied in their giant labor productions and mechanical enterprises, does not realize how much injustice they are doing themselves under the program they are now following. To quote from his speech:

No sabe el uso que se está haciendo de su fuerza

29 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, xx.
30 Ibid.
31 Duffus, 1.
32 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 14.
33 Ugarte, Mi Campana Hispanoamericana, 74.

> en las comarcas limítrofes, no sabe que está levantando las más ágrias antipatías en el resto del Nuevo Mundo, no sabe la injusticia que se está cometiendo en su nombre, no sabe, en fin, que, sin que él lo sospeche, por obra de los políticos expeditivos y ambiciosos, se está abriendo en América una era de hostilidad, un antagonismo inextinguible, cuyas consecuencias tendrán que perjudicarnos a todos.[34]

In Buenos Aires in 1913, he stated, "Quiero declarar ante todo que no soy un adversario de los Estados Unidos como nación."[35] Far from having an antipathy for the United States, he declares that he admires their progress enormously, "Pero ante todo y por encima de todo, soy hijo de mi tierra,"[36] and as such has to defend it against the wave that threatens to engulf it. In another place he states, "Quiero y admiro a esta gran nación, pero por encima de todas las simpatías está la legítima defensa de mi nacionalidad."[37]

Of his stay in the United States, he remarked, "More than once I was forced to answer stiffly, or to break off a conversation in order not to listen to insulting opinions upon Latin America."[38] He believes them to have a lively self satisfaction, which is solidly based on material success, a contempt for everything foreign, and a brutal and rough tendency to outdo other races. "To the popular mind we were savages, ridiculous phenomena, degenerates."[39] Of the United States' principles of equality he says, "It was enough to see the position of the Negro in this equali-

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34 Ibid.
35 Ibid., 155.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., 75.
38 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 13.
39 Ibid.

tarian republic to understand the insincerity of the premises which were proclaimed."[40] The proof, he states, is accessible to all that slavery was abolished in the Spanish colonies much earlier than in the English colonies, and that the Negro, who even up to the present day is a prisoner in the United States, enjoys the widest liberty in those regions which were dependent on Spain.

When Señor Ugarte made his first trip to the United States in 1900 and became cognizant of the rapid extension of its boundaries, the fact that amazed him was that no protest was raised throughout all Spanish-speaking America, especially when the Mexican territories of Texas, California and New Mexico were annexed by the United States. "De ocho millones de kilómetros cuadrados que tenía México en los orígenes de su historia, quedaba reducido en pocos años a dos millones, a una cuarta parte de su territorio."[41] This and other facts roused him to make a thorough study of United States' history.

He learned that the old English colonies were thirteen in number, with a population of four million men in an area of a million square kilometres. He studied the significance of the Second Continental Congress of Philadelphia in 1775, the campaign against the Indians, the acquisition of Louisiana, purchased from France in 1803, the occupation of Florida, ceded by Spain in 1819, and the "bewildering advance of the western frontier towards the Pacific, annexing lands and cities which bear Spanish

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40 Ibid., 12.
41 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 193.

names."[42] Such names as "Santa Fe," "San Francisco" and "Los Angeles," he says, "fix the attention like a voice coming from the depths of the ages to upbraid the carelessness and indifference of a race."[43]

The original thirteen colonies with a population of four million in an area of a million square kilometres had been transformed within a century to an enormous nation consisting of forty five states with a population of a hundred million in an area of ten million square kilometres!

He blames his education in South American schools for his ignorance of the significance of these historical facts.[44] He continued his studies further during his sojourn in the United States, studying the secession of the South, the Civil War, and noting that the problems of reconstruction proved sufficient to absorb the energies of the United States for two decades.[45] Then came the attempt in the 1870's to coerce President Díaz of Mexico, and his efforts to rally the Latin American states to his support. This was followed by the energetic efforts of James G. Blaine to play the role of mediator on the American continent. Secretary of State Frelinghuysen's contention that European nations should not be permitted to arbitrate disputes in Latin America and the assertion in many quarters of the United States' desire to dominate the canal zone followed. Next came the unpleasant incident with Chile, known as the "Baltimore Affair" and the vigorous action of Admiral Benham to prevent the restoration of the monarchy in Brazil. "Latin America became conscious once more of an energet-

42 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 5.
43 Ibid., 6.
44 Ibid., 5.
45 Ibid., ix.

ic, an intrusive, and possibly a dangerous neighbor."[46]

The victory of the United States in the Spanish American War was followed by President Theodore Roosevelt's brandishing of the "Big Stick" in the West Indies, the Panama Canal Zone affair, Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy" and Lodge's "Magdalena Bay Resolution." All these events aggravated the situation and caused a growing uneasiness in Latin America, resulting in a veritable epidemic of Yankeephobia which swept the entire region from Mexico City to Buenos Aires.

Ugarte believes England has constantly yielded to the United States,[47] citing the case of Panama when the Columbian treaty was under discussion, and of Mexico when the petroleum issue was acute. "The young democracy has had its way at the expense of the ancient empire."[48] He likens European and United States diplomacy to a rapier as pitted against a revolver.[49]

Ugarte was amazed at the opinions aired in the United States, especially those which carried official weight. "Politicians poured forth the most amazing declarations in the Senate, as if the White House really exercised jurisdiction as far as Cape Horn, and as if it had not the vaguest notion of the autonomy of our republics."[50] He thinks they believe themselves destined to dominate the world, a point on which his critics severely disagree.

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46 Ibid.
47 Manuel Ugarte. "Latin America After the War." The Living Age, July 2, 1921, 310:17.
48 Ibid.
49 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 140.
50 Ibid., 13.

Of Imperialism he says, "El imperialismo existe siempre que un núcleo humano quiere imponer su voluntad, sojuzgar, doblar la voluntad o el sentimiento de un núcleo de diverso origen o de lengua distinta."[51]

Our crusader believes the United States has perfected its method over the years. The imperialism of the earliest ages annexed the inhabitants in the guise of slaves. Afterwards it annexed the land without its inhabitants, and now the procedure, he states, is to annex only its wealth without either land or inhabitants, thus reducing to a minimum the expenditure of the forces of domination.[52]

> A nation which holds in its hand the control of the wealth and commerce of another country is in reality master both of it and of its inhabitants, not only in things appertaining to the edonomic order, but even in matters of internal and external policy, since the whole framework of a country in modern times rests upon finance which regulates its varied activities.[53]

He credits the United States with great astuteness in furnishing the Latin American countries with means of "balancing their finances," helping them to "achieve their liberty," lending them support in "overthrowing tyrants," etc. He asks, "¿Que son nuestras repúblicas...ante de la masa enorme de la nación más productora, más audáz y más progresiva que existe hoy en el mundo?"[54]

Like Rodó, Ugarte believes the United States adopts one morality for home consumption and makes use of another for peoples they desire to sub-

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51 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 204.
52 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 50.
53 Ibid.
54 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 36.

jugate. "The Light of liberty in New York casts...a shadow of discredit upon the intelligence of the South,"[55] and "To believe in the paternal desire of a state to serve another state disinteresedly is a negation of the philosophy of history."[56]

Rome, he says, applied a uniform empirical procedure, Spain also, even England and France strive to dominate rather than absorb, Only the United States seems to have understood how to modify the mechanism of expansion in accordance with the tendencies of the age, employing different tactics in each case, and dominating in a more indirect and potent fashion.[57]

Tracing types of imperialism through the ages, Ugarte cites un imperialismo del hombre (Alexander), un imperialismo de la ciudad (Rome), un imperialismo de la nación (Napoleon and France), culminating in un imperialismo de la raza, and the example he gives is the United States and anglosaxonism.[58]

To the United States and anglosaxonism he attributes the wisdom of knowing that, "No nation can take much from another nation without being affected itself," and that, "The strength of the conquering power is drained in proportion to the distance which separates it from its base of operation."[59] History upholds this fact, for many great nations can lay their downfall to the cost of maintaining their overgrown empires.

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55 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 128.
56 Ibid., 129.
57 Ibid., 139.
58 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 206.
59 Manuel Ugarte, "A Latin Looks North." The Nation, May 20, 1925, 120:569.

He does believe, however, that with all this astuteness, the United States have committed a grave error in forcing some of the Southern nations to turn toward Asia for help, thereby opening up a dangerous field "which may have harmful results for both in the future."[60] /written in 1925/ Ugarte maintains also that the unassimilable native element and the wide extent of territory involved will remain large obstacles in the path of any new attempts made by the United States to extend their jurisdiction over South America.[61]

Two pretexts he gives that imperialism uses to justify its actions are, "Nuestra incapacidad aparente para hacer valer la riqueza y nuestras revoluciones."[62] If a man puts money in the bank can another man come up and appropriate it, saying it isn't productive, so that he will take it and make it so? "Cada pueblo, como cada individuo, conserva el derecho de dirigir su vida y nadie puede invocar razones para obligarle a obrar en contradicción con sus gustos."[63] Among many other examples he gives, Ugarte cites the North American meat syndicate in Argentina which has a monopoly on exportation of meat from that country, and the North American petroleum trust in the same country.[64] The United Fruit Company divides among its shareholders an annual dividend amounting to more than the united budgets of the five governments of Central America.[65]

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60 Ibid., 570.
61 Manuel Ugarte. "Dangers Latent in Our Latin-American Policy." Current History, September, 1927, 26:899.
62 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 84.
63 Ibid., 85.
64 Ibid., 173.
65 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 286.

Señor Ugarte attacks PanAmericanism savagely. Pan Slavism, Pan Germanism, Pan Latinism, he says, are all based on a racial unity, on a similarity of character, tongue and religion, but, "El Panamericanismo solo está basado sobre un engaño, sobre una ficción y sobre un deseo de dominio sobre los otros pueblos."[66] He believes Pan Americanism has served "para legalizar la esclavitud de ciertas repúblicas."[67] He has denounced it as a "skillful move in the expansionist policy of the North, and a suicidal tendency of the simple-minded South."[68]

Many critics cite this following passage of Ugarte's to illustrate their belief that he greatly overrates the astuteness of United States politicians. However, it is possible that Ugarte exaggerated purposely in order to more greatly arouse his countrymen. He sees the United States as:

> A chessplayer who foresees every possible move, with a breadth of vision embracing many centuries, better informed and more resolute than any, without fits of passion, without forgetfulness, without fine sensibilities, without fear, carrying out a world-activity in which everything is foreseen. North American imperialism is the most perfect instrument of domination which has been known throughout the ages.[69]

He attempts to arouse his countrymen against the Monroe Doctrine and its obsolete characteristics. The whole world would gape at the issuance of such a doctrine in Asia by Japan, or in Europe by England, he says. "¿Como no ha de serlo la pretensión que lleva a los Estados Unidos a erigirse en gerentes de la vida del Nuevo Mundo, a pesar de la diferencia de

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66 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 206.
67 Ibid., 164.
68 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 288.
69 Ibid., 139.

raza, idioma, religión y costumbres que los separa de los países de Sudamérica?"[70]

The rampart which has been erected between South America and Europe for nearly a century is the rampart of the United States, and "while its sister republics are free to enjoy the protection of that rampart, none of them will be allowed to cast it down. That is something which the United States alone can do."[71] Very pointedly he asks, "Por eso podemos decir: la doctrina de Monroe nos ha defendido de Europa pero ¿quién nos defiende de la doctrina de Monroe?"[72] At first it may have appeared to be an adequate protection against a return to colonialism, but it has now contracted the very characteristics of the evil it tried to prevent.[73]

Let us now follow Señor Ugarte on his journey from the United States through the Latin American countries. His first stop was at Cuba, and needless to say, he made a thorough study of Cuban history, particularly as it was influenced by actions of the United States. A Cuban nation weak after the Spanish American War, a nation eaten up by the ambition of factions and bosses, and politicians who were unable to see the disaster and its results, a nation flanked by a thunderstruck continent and a weakened Spain, found that, "All that stood fast as iron, final and categorical, were Articles III, IV, VI and VII of the Platt Amendment."[74] Since the Platt Amendment is many times mentioned by him it will be well to review

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70 Manuel Ugarte. La Patria Grande. Ediciones Ercilla, Santiago de Chile, 1939, 68.
71 Ugarte, "Latin America After the War," 17.
72 Ugarte, Mi Campaña Hispanoamericana, 141.
73 "The Battle of the Latins Over Latin America." Literary Digest, August 22, 1925, 86:16.
74 Ibid., 38.

its main points.

Article III The Government of Cuba gives the United States the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence.

Article IV Validates acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy and all lawful rights acquired under this occupancy shall be protected and maintained.

Article VI Isle of Pines was omitted from the boundaries of Cuba and left to a future treaty.

Article VII Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations to help the United States maintain the independence of Cuba and protect its people.

Again Ugarte explains that it is actually a convenience for the conquering country to refuse direct mandates, that a series of subtle provisions reserve to them the higher role of economic dictators, arbiters in internal quarrels, and supreme protectors in international matters.[75]

He maintains that Cuba never really had a chance at independence, that "Between the past and the present the life breath was snuffed out of a new nationality, which had not had time to grow strong, nor knew as yet what to rely upon."[76] He feels an hostility, a constraint there, that has created, especially among the younger generation, an atmosphere of discontent. "At Guantánamo, La Caimanera, and...in the property belonging to North Americans, with its wireless installations, its coal-boats, its warehouses, and its cruisers anchored in the bay, one feels the presence of a

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75 Ibid., 39.
76 Ibid., 40.

new Rome, keeping silent guard around its Mediterranean."[77]

In the Post Office in Havana, he is amazed to see English lettering, such as Money Orders, Stamps, General Delivery, above the different windows, and the sum total of nine hundred bronze American eagles, one ornamenting each of nine hundred pigeon holes!

After a month's stay in Cuba, Ugarte left for the Republic of Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo, far from having perished by its own mistakes, he declares to have been overwhelmed by the vortex of civilization. France tried to supplant Spain there, then England supported Spain to weaken France, then the United States asserted her domination there when France and Spain had broken down![78]

In his speech at Santo Domingo's capital, Señor Ugarte pleaded for an entente of the Spanish peoples of America in order to ensure their autonomy, and to preserve the economic, cultural and political spheres of their nationalities.[79] He blames them also for the situation, saying, "The invaders drew their support from our own /Latin American/ lack of discipline."[80]

In Porto Rico, Ugarte contrasts her status under Spain and her status under the United States. Before the Spanish American War, Porto Rico had two Chambers and an Executive Cabinet. All the mechanism of administration was in the hands of Porto Ricans, and Spain nominated a governor general only. "The 'old fashioned' monarchy of Spain, 'old and behind

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77 Ibid., 50.
78 Ibid., 53.
79 Ibid., 56.
80 Ibid., 55.

the times' had implanted the most liberal regime it is possible to conceive,"[81] states Ugarte. Under the United States domination, he says, there was a military government, an upper chamber nominated by the President of the United States, a North American bureaucracy, and a supreme tribunal emanating from Washington.[82]

In Mexico Ugarte found the atmosphere charged with politics. To be in company with one party inevitably involved being against the others, so he was hard put to give the impression of being completely neutral. In his speeches there, he upbraids them for feeling that they have to look anxiously towards the North every time they wish to speak on Latin American policy in the New World. He admonishes them against too much party rivalry, for this very aliveness to political problems of the day, which tends to make them choose sides so vehemently is the very factor which weakens their unity, and which is first seized upon by foreign interests. "Controversionalists frequently support the government as a rope supports a hanged man."[83]

By a curious coincidence, the United States Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Knox, began a good-will tour of the Latin American countries at this time. Its purpose was "to stimulate...official friendship for America."[84] Ugarte of course, considered this just a diplomatic facade. "The real object was to study on the spot the movement towards solidarity which was beginning to be talked about."[85]

Whatever the purpose of his trip, Secretary Knox caused Señor Ugarte

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81 Ibid., 57.
82 Ibid., 58.
83 Ibid., 79.
84 Duffus, 1.
85 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 83.

a great deal of inconvenience. He planned to go from Mexico to Guatemala, but on arriving there was told, not too politely by Dictator Estrada Cabrera that he is not wanted in that country because Secretary Knox is expected shortly.

Planning to stop at San Salvador, Ugarte receives a wire not to arrive until after March 15, as that is the date Secretary Knox is expected. Not knowing where he is headed, Ugarte boards the City of Panama and receives a telegram aboard ship from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras, inviting him to their country.

Honduras, although the possessor of as many revolutions in its history as it nas years of independence, has a young group of men with strong patriotic ideas. They receive Ugarte very warmly.

The traveler finally arrives in San Salvador, but is told by President Araujo that he can not give his scheduled lecture on "Latin America Face to Face with Imperialism." He resolves to write the Student Committee explaining his cancellation of his lecture, and they reply to him with a manifesto containing two hundred and sixty odd signatures, begging him to give it. The President, disquieted by the turn matters were taking, wrote a letter authorizing the lecture. Then, strange to relate, not a theatre or hall was available for it. The students arranged to hold it in the garden of an old convent, and it was received with even more acclaim because of the trouble they had had.

In Nicaragua, Ugarte is not allowed to land, being told that there is a law against letting anarchists in the country. The following passage de-

serves to be quoted at length:

> North American policy was master of the whole of Central America, both by land and by sea; and the Latin American traveller, who was defending Latin American interests on Latin American soil, seemed to be fated not to set foot on any coast, and to be turned back from every port. Life was paralyzed either by the memory of Mr. Knox's visit, or by the presence of Mr. Knox, or by the expectation of Mr. Knox, who landed, commanding and cold, surrounded by official committees, without being greeted by any popular cheers or homages in spite of the efforts which the governments had made for this purpose.[86]

Costa Rica, he found very alive to the danger menacing from the North. Being a neighbor to Panama and an eyewitness to the dismemberment of Colombia had placed her on her guard.

Taken as a whole Ugarte believes "the most serious malady of Central America is that of revolutions."[87] Their preoccupation with internal politics and sensitiveness to frontier questions will have to be relegated to the background in face of the necessity for constructing an economic organization to develop their lands, and to ensure an autonomous development which will check foreign influences.[88]

In Panama, its President, Don Belisario Porras, said to Señor Ugarte:

> The position of Panama grows constantly more difficult. My government can not establish any real authority. I lack means for carrying out its decisions.... If a political insurrection were to break out to-morrow in Panamanian territory, I could not suppress it unless the United States authorized me to equip troops and transport them from one division of our country to another.[89]

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86 Ibid., 93.
87 Ibid., 115.
88 Ibid., 121.
89 Ibid., 146.

Ugarte calls to Latin America to interest herself in the fate of Panama. He believed that, "In the isthmus lies the pivot on which the future will turn."[90]

In Venezuela, Ugarte was unable to get theatres for his lectures, and the President did not respond to his request for an audience.

On the other hand, Colombia received him with an ovation. He says, "I should fail in my aim of portraying a moral state and an atmosphere if I kept silence upon certain facts which are the best data for judging a situation."[91] And in another place, "These ovations were not given to the man, but to the idea, for this reason, setting myself aside, I may say that I have never been in the presence of greater enthusiasm."[92] El Tiempo (December 3, 1912) said, "These are lofty words which go straight to the heart." El Nuevo Tiempo (December 2, 1912) wrote, "Ugarte descended from the platform amid a thunder of applause. May the beneficient seed scattered by him take root and bear fruit in the depths of the soul of Colombia." The Gaceta Republicana (December 2, 1912) wrote that "It was necessary to hold it in the open air, since the accommodation, though considerable, did not suffice...a crowd of at least 10,000 people." El Diario (November 27, 1912) told of the crowd that carried Ugarte away from the train and almost bore aloft the carriage in which he was traveling. "Ugarte must surely have felt the throbbing soul of Colombia and measured the force which still resides in this indomitable people."[93]

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90 Ibid., 137.
91 Ibid., 164.
92 Ibid.
93 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, footnotes, 165.

He was also received well in Ecuador, Chile, Peru and Bolivia.

In Argentina, the main theme of his lectures to the people dwelt around the idea that Argentina had been destined to lead South America to successful international life, that the Latin American countries north of her, being closer to the United States, fell more directly under its yoke, and that it was these countries who looked to Argentina to lead the way.[94] He chides her for forsaking this leadership, for petty rivalry with Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia.

Official circles in his home country were against him, and the general idea seemed to be to ignore his imperialistic activity. Their ignorance of what their countryman was trying to do was due to a great extent to his difficulty in communicating with the outside world while on his tour.

> I only received what passed the censor or the North American cable.... Thus the New York Times of August 18, 1912, was able to print an absolutely inaccurate report which was copied by El Día of Havana and various Latin American papers, without my hearing anything about it until I arrived at the end of my journey. And so the most abominable reports of my tour were cabled to Buenos Aires.[95]

In Uruguay and Paraguay Ugarte was well received. In this latter country, he called upon its neighbors to help it set up a sound economic system through interchange of local products.

In Brazil he warns them that their country, rich in so many sources of wealth, may be in the future a fertile ground for imperialistic powers, and warns them to maintain their autonomy. Here Ugarte ended his two year journey, a somewhat sadder man, yet still possessed of the burning desire

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94 Ibid., 212.
95 Ibid., 105.

to see a union of the Latin American people.

At this time he remarked, "I never thought that the fact of working in my country's cause could have brought me so much odium."[96] He waited for someone to say that a man who has devoted his whole life to the defense of a doctrine can not be vile; a man who has sacrificed all he possessed to truth can not be venal. But no voice was raised in his favor.

Because of his discussions on Panama, he was believed to be a secret agent of Colombia; in Cuba his propaganda was interpreted as a return to Spanish dominion; in Mexico, as a move in internal politics to bring about the fall of the government; in Guatemala as an intrigue of San Salvador; in San Salvador as an intrigue of Guatemala, and so on.[97] "Each group was dazzled by its immediate preoccupations, and so attributed to local motives that higher aspiration which should be concerned with them all."[98] He was also accused of touring in some commercial interest, of being an eccentric millionaire, of being subsidized by Germany.[99] Ugarte says, "When these activities began I believed I should have a fair fight. I was surprised at the atmosphere and the plane on which I had to manoeuvre."[100] His letters were intercepted, circulation of his books opposed, and character blackened.

There was evidence enough however, to satisfy Ugarte that the sympathies of the younger generations and of labor were with him. "The cold-

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96 Ibid., 269.
97 Ibid., 136.
98 Ibid., 137.
99 Ibid., 105.
100 Ibid.

ness of the governing classes,...their friendly disposition toward the United States, was in sharp contrast."[101]

The spontaneous character of his journey seemed inexplicable in certain circles. It seemed incredible to them "that a man would expose himself to so much expense and annoyance without seeking any gain."[102] The very fact that his lectures were free, and that he declined the offers of various authorities to defray his expenses was used against him.[103] A salient point is that his tour and the wonderful receptions he received were not publicized abroad. The telegraph was silent in fear, it seems, that the news of this movement would spread.

The obstacles in his path thus created an unexpected result. "He became a critic also of Latin Americans, not only of the Monroe Doctrine, as he was when he began it."[104]

Señor Ugarte has much to say concerning Latin America's future policy, but he also believes that the United States will see the error of her ways. "You North Americans will realize that a civilization can be really superior in the opinion of others as well as itself, only when it conciliates all the forces which play a part toward the betterment of the human race."[105] He believes that in the life of nations, as in the human body, there is, besides the physical part, something spiritual, something intangible, which gives them character and establishes their position in histor-

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101 Duffus, 1.
102 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 173.
103 Ibid.
104 Urruela, 91.
105 Ugarte, "A Latin Looks North," 570.

y.[106]

Latin America and the United States must learn to work together on an equal footing. Latin America has much to learn from the United States and vice versa, "but this must be affected without yielding a jot of the autonomy of our nations."[107] There must be no abdication nor submission, and above all, he says, the Latin Americans must take great care to safeguard "our distinctive language, our pride, our flag, our present and our future."[108] She must be careful not to renounce her own peculiar possibilities of development, her own clearly defined personality, her ineradicable traditions and her faculty of self determination.[109]

Before Latin America can compel respect for her rights and assure herself complete freedom of development as autonomous governments she must come to some understanding and accord among her own republics.[110] "Our duty is to anticipate and prevent future evil by cultivating in 'Our America' a compelling sentiment, a high ideal, a pride worthy of a truly great, powerful, and respected homeland."[111] A chaos of petty greed, and a lack of civic pride are the characteristics Latin America must weed out in order to acquire a solidarity which will command respect. He says:

> At home our task is to improve the state of our public finances and to organize our production. Abroad our task is to adopt a consistent and coherent policy, seeking particularly a closer alliance with the Latin

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106 Ibid.
107 Ugarte, Destiny of a Continent, 15.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
110 Ugarte, "Latin America After the War," 18.
111 Alejandro Sux. "Latin-American Disunity." The Living Age. February 17, 1923, 316:390.

> countries of Europe. In these two directions lie our future safety.[112]

They should seek in Europe, particularly in France, Spain, and Italy, an economic, intellectual and moral counterpoise to guarantee their future and "to resist the undue pressure of influences from which they never can entirely escape."[113]

Latin America must stop the senseless revolutions where so much blood and energy has been wasted fruitlessly for the benefit of tyrants and oligarchies. "Could we but sum this useless slaughter in one single deed the force of it would suffice to level the Andes."[114] He blames the rulers, the men in power, for it is they who could dispose of this treasure well, who, instead of using it for the common good, wasted it in the service of personal ambitions.

Ugarte addresses the greater part of his plea to the youth of Latin America. "Nations are greater," he says, "when they sternly censor their own errors than when they pass facile judgment on their neighbors."[115] Their first reprimand must be for their short-sighted rulers who, engrossed in petty rivalries, have failed to catch the vision of Latin America's continental destiny. Ugarte[116] lists the faults of Latin American public men: (1) They have shown no comprehension of a continuous national policy, (2) they have no conception of the common interests of the Latin American

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112 Manuel Ugarte. "Latin American Revolutions." The Living Age. December 16, 1922, 315:631.
113 Ibid., 632.
114 Manuel Ugarte, "Ugarte on Sandino," The Nation, September 19, 1928, 127:280.
115 Manuel Ugarte. "To the Youth of Latin America." The Living Age, October 1, 1927, 333:587.
116 Ibid., 588.

countries, (3) they have surrendered to foreign corporations, for no adequate equivalent, mines, monopolies and concessions, and (4) they have incurred national debts which bred conflicts, protectorates and military occupations.

As he says, when Latin American diplomats talk about the 'Colossus of the North,' they confess their own tragic failure. "They themselves created the 'Colossus of the North' when, in a continent divided into halves by blood, language, and race, they refused to unite for self-defense and joined the train of the conqueror."[117] Ugarte admonishes the youth of Latin America that the new policy can not be entrusted to men who lag behind events instead of anticipating them. He appeals to them therefore, to take an active part in public affairs, to see that the policies of their governments are directed by officials alive to the actualities of the day.

Mere protestation against imperialistic aggression will not save Latin America. "We can defend our rights successfully only by making ourselves worthy of them...."[118]

As part of a constructive program outlined for the youth of Latin America, Señor Ugarte[119] lists the following points: (1) Substitute a comprehensive and consistent political policy for the self-seeking program of individuals which has made the last century a period of revolution and unrest, (2) Create a continental consciousness; learn to substitute action for oratory, (3) Build up constructive reforms in each Latin American country, such as reciprocal civil and political rights to the citizens of any

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117 Ibid.
118 Ibid., 589.
119 Ibid.

republic residing in one of its neighbors, (4) Appoint a Latin American High Commission to study the possibilities of uniform financial policies, educational systems, and navigation laws, to recommend projects to be adopted by the different governments, (5) Boundary disputes should be settled at once in order to improve and conserve good will.

In summing up the contributions of Manuel Ugarte, much could be said about the deficiencies, weak points and inaccuracies of his arguments, a great deal can be said concerning his courageous expose of the situation, revealing the oft neglected Latin American viewpoint, but whatever the side that is taken, whatever the criticism offered, all must agree on the very evident sincerity of the man, his quest for truth, and constructive criticisms offered. All must give him credit for <u>action</u>.

CHAPTER V

RUFINO BLANCO-FOMBONA

In discussing Rodó, one writer says, "He is not, like Blanco-Fombona, a volcano...."[1] The life of this "volcano" makes interesting reading. Always unexpected, always surprising, never tame nor subdued, his life is mirrored in his works which follow the oft-repeated dictum, "The style is the man." Like Ugarte, here is a man of action.

Rufino Blanco-Fombona was born in Caracas, Venezuela, on June 17, 1874. He belonged to an aristocratic family that had made notable Venezuelan history since the colonial epoch.[2] On his father's side he comes of old Spanish aristocratic stock. His maternal line is little less distinguished, his grandfather, Don Evaristo Fombona having founded the Venezuelan Academy of Languages and having been a correspondent of the Royal Spanish Academy and councillor of the Spanish legation in Caracas.[3]

At the age of eighteen, Blanco-Fombona distinguished himself in the revolution against President Andueza of Venezuela, who precipitated the outbreak by trying to prolong his term in office after it had expired. Upon the successful outcome of the revolution, during which he won his way from a position as private to that of aide to General Antonio Fernández, Blanco-Fombona left for the United States where he remained two years.

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1 Issac Goldberg. Studies in Spanish-American Literature. Brentano's, New York, 1920, 207.
2 Nina Lee Weisinger. Readings from Spanish-American Authors. D.C. Heath & Company, 1929, 215.
3 Goldberg, 309.

"Desde aquel entonces ha manifestado antipatía hacia los yanquis, o por decirlo con las palabras de Gonzáles Blanco, 'su odio inapelable rugiente, constante, hacia los Estados Unidos'"[4]

Two years later, 1896, he was attached to the Venezuelan legation at The Hague. In 1899 we find Blanco-Fombona back in Caracas where his first book was published, half in prose, half in verse, somewhat after the manner of Darío's Azul. But it was not like him to keep quiet for long. He became involved in a situation that called for a duel, after which he fled back to the despised United States, where he remained only a short time. From 1901 to 1904 he was Consul in Amsterdam, and with the frequent trips to Paris which this made possible came another string of duels. Goldberg says, "The truth must be that young Blanco-Fombona was hasty, arrogant, quarrelsome, too ready for trouble...for he who gets into so many troubles in so many parts of the world can not always be right."[5]

Unable to stay at one position very long, he next became Secretary-General of the Territorio Amazons, a virgin department comprising between one-sixth and one-fifth of Venezuela, bordering upon parts of Brazil and Colombia, which he said was as wild as in the days of the conquistadores and whose population had the reputation of assassinating governors. Through motives which have not thoroughly come to light he was subject to an assassination attempt in which, as one writer says, "His enemies came out second best."[6]

For a while he was imprisoned and when freed of the charge, (he had

4 Weisinger, 215.
5 Goldberg, 313.
6 Ibid., 314.

killed one and wounded two others of his assailants) he was escorted to a church of Maracaibo, where the populace sent up thanks to the Lord for his safe delivery.[7]

Then fortune brought him to Paris where he published travel sketches and a volume of verses. In Paris he was a personal associate of Rubén Darío.

In 1909 he returned to Venezuela where he became secretary of the Chamber of Deputies in Caracas. His opposition to the government of General Juan Vicente Gómez resulted in his imprisonment in 1909 and exile in 1910. He brought from the prison a volume of verses published in 1911 as Cantos de la prisión y del destierro of which he said, "Every strophe is a monument to existence, life lived, a human cry of a man who has suffered".[8]

During his banishment from Venezuela he settled in Madrid, where he founded the publishing house, "América." In 1915 he became editor of the "Biblioteca Ayachucho." As editor and publisher of this world series of American books, he has contributed much toward making Spanish-American literature more widely known.[9] In Navarre he served in high public positions during the years 1934-1937, among them that of civil governor.

Upon the death of President Gómez he returned to his native land. In 1939 the new government headed by President Estado de Miranda, named him Minister Plenipoteniary in Uruguay. He died Octover 16, 1944 in Buenos Aires, where he had gone to have some of his books republished and to continue his literary work.

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7 Ibid., 313.

8 Alfred Coester. The Literary History of Spanish America. Macmillan Company, New York, 1916, 329.

9 E. Herman Hespelt, editor, and others. An Outline of Spanish American Literature. F.S. Crofts and Company, New York, 1941.

His life shows action, and so do his works. "Not for him the sterility of complacent negative virtue; life and poetry alike to him meant action. He has written, and written often, the Word, but his words have flowered from the Deed."[10] In his essay, "La vida que pasa," he says, "Complain not of squandering your life; you are living it."[11] Commenting on the poets of his day, he believes that the majority of poets are poets only in verse and have not lived. "Every man whose life lends no material for legends and poetry is a secondary man, even though nature invest him with the gifts of a fabulous goldsmith and an enchanting rhetoric."[12]

To both Martí and Blanco-Fombona, the poet is a doer. Action will be expected in the latter's poetry consequently.

One critic disagrees stremuously, as critics will. Goldberg says, "Life is not all action; progress is not all war; there is poetry in the flute as well as in the trumpet, in the blade of grass as well as in the oak."[13] He finds also, that Blanco-Fombona has not been immune to the more tender aspect of poetry. "He has written excellent pages of nature love and calm repose."[14] Blanco-Fombona is essentially however, the man of action, and we should grant him his conception of poetry if that is the banner under which he works best, and which is most truly his.

He is peculiarly himself in word and deed. Like those who do much he has committed many an error, but the good seems to far outweigh the bad.

The literary output of Blanco-Fombona is as varied and checkered as

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10 Goldberg, 314.
11 As quoted in Goldberg, 317.
12 Ibid., 319.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.

the account of his life. His first production was a poem entitled "Patria." With it he won first prize in a poetry contest when twenty years old. It is today unprocurable, and the author seemed not to be desirous of putting it in print.

In 1899 he published his first collection of verse and prose entitled Trovadores y trovas. In 1904 he gave his true measure as a poet with Pequeña ópera lírica, published in Madrid. It was in this work that Blanco-Fombona became conscious of his art and felt he had found the path which, in his work La lámpara de Aladino, he states as being simplicity in expression and feeling, literary sincerity without rhetorical trimmings or verbal tinsel.

1907 saw the publication of his first novel, El hombre de hierro, written during his imprisonment. It is the story of a man's extraordinary application to business and fidelity to his employer, while that employer is the unscrupulous type of foreigner who exploits the commerce of Venezuela. "Social life in Venezuela, the smart and sarcastic conversation of certain types,...the general idleness, even the earthquakes and the revolutions, are brilliantly satirized."[15]

In 1911 he published Cantos de la prisión y del destierro which was written during his imprisonment in Venezuela under conditions where he was surrounded by spies, manacled in a dungeon, and often without pen or paper. He trusts these verses to avenge him for they will be read as he says, "While there exists a man of honor, a manly spirit, a victim of persecutors or a woman in love."[16]

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[15] Coester, 328.
[16] Goldberg, 321.

In 1915 appeared El hombre de oro, which was not a sequel to El hombre de hierro, but can be seen as a natural outgrowth of the first. It is the story of a sordid miser who rises to the position of Financial Minister of Venezuela. One reviewer says, "Rich in irony, blunt in characterization, and cynically searching in its social implications," it is a novel which "whets ones desire to possess more from the same pen."[17] His drawing of the three Agualonga sisters is greatly praised. "Where...is it possible to find so well delineated, so neatly sketched, yet so fully vivified a trio of women as the three Agualonga sisters?"[18] asks one critic. It is a shrewd depiction of life in Venezuela, with many portraits from life. Another reviewer says, "There is a dogged, blind, but very real force which moves the story along to inevitable conclusions, but the society depicted is that of the last days of Rome, mimus their splendor and lacking a height to fall from."[19] The unfolding of the various influences at work upon the central character "makes as delicious a caricature of modern politics as is possible to imagine."[20] There is no doubt that Blanco-Fombona is avenging the injustices done him, and that his purpose is to expose the corrupt political machinery of Venezuela.

His chief contributions to criticism are contained in two volumes: Letras y letrados de Hispano-América (1908) and Grandes escritores de América (1917). In them appears the fighter, the personalist, the lover of lib-

17 "The Man of Gold." The Freeman, June 29, 1921, 3:382.
18 Goldberg, 348.
19 "The Man of Gold." The Dial, July, 1921, 71:118.
20 "The Man of Gold." The Freeman, 382.

erty and the patriot that was evident in his very first poems.[21] The latter is a study and commentary on the lives and works of the following men: Bello, Sarmiento, Eugenio María de Hostos, Don Juan Montalvo, and Manuel Gonzáles Prada.

His views upon the development of Spanish America are found in La evolución política y social de Hispano-América (1911). He terminates his study with the declaration that, "los yanquis son el enemigo del alma, la civilización, la independencia, y hasta la raza hispanoamericana."[22]

He can be caustic, withering and sardonic at will. Of Judas Capitolino (1912), one writer says, "If words can nail tyrants to a cross, Blanco-Fombona wields the mighty hammer."[23]

The most ambitious work of Blanco-Fombona's is his annotated edition of Bolívar's correspondence, Cartas de Bolívar (1913), for which, Coester says, "Students will always owe the author a debt of gratitude."[24] Another critic says, "He gives evidence of considerable acumen in his annotated edition of the correspondence of Simón Bolívar (1783-1830)."[25] You can not read much of Blanco-Fombona's works before realizing that Bolívar is his ideal, and that he patterns all his thoughts and actions after the Liberator. Goldberg believes it is from Bolívar that Blanco-Fombona draws his unflagging fervor of continental patriotism. "He is the spirit of Bolívar fighting in the world of contemporary thought. He thinks with a Bolivar-

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21 Goldberg, 325.
22 As quoted in Weisinger, 216.
23 Goldberg, 337.
24 Coester, 329.
25 James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. A New History of Spanish Literature. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1926, 517.

ian sweep. His conception of the New World and its destinies is that of Bolívar. And he is a worthy paladin."[26]

In 1915 he published La lámpara de Aladino, composed of bits written at various times. Here you find the critic, the fiction writer, the poet, the polemist, the multiple man.

A more gentle aspect of Blanco-Fombona is shown in Cancionero del amor infeliz (1918). The poems it comprises belong to various stages of the poet's career, and mirror the changing phases of such love as even a man of action can feel. His love verse, he says, "is not the word of flame that covers the heart of snow, but rather the word of snow that covers the heart of fire."[27]

A work entitled El modernismo y los poetas modernistas was published in 1929, and El conquistador español del siglo xvi in 1935. In the latter book he says, "La Historia no se cultiva por el placer baldío de condenar ni de exaltar. Se cultiva para aprovechar sus lecciones y atesorar experiencia; para conocer el mensaje que cada época y cada raza legan a la Humanidad."[28] This clearly indicates the purpose of his study of the sixteenth century conquistadores.

El espejo de tres faces appeared in 1937. In his prologue Blanco-Fombona says, "Casi todos los autores poseen un espejo de tres faces. En una de estas aparecen como se miran ellos; en otra como los mira el públi-

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26 Goldberg, 337.
27 Ibid., 323.
28 Rufino Blanco-Fombona. El conquistador español del siglo xvi. Editorial mundo latino, Madrid, 1922, 294.

co; y en otra como los mira el crítico. Por eso llamo este libro El espejo de tres faces."[29]

Other works were: La máscara heroica (1923), El secreto de la felicidad (1932), El pensamiento vivo de Bolívar, and many others.

Most of his poetry, essays and longer works are pervaded by an all embracing hatred for the continent to the north. The very contrary temperaments of Rodó, Ugarte and Blanco-Fombona are united in this one aspiration, a glorious continental future for Latin America, and a belief that the United States threatens the attainment of that end.

Underlying his major works the reader can feel his antipathy for the United States. He believes the conflict between Latin America and the United States is a conflict of races and of civilizations, that the long-standing antagonism between the English race and the Spanish race, between the Protestant religion and the Catholic faith, between the utilitarian spirit and the idealist spirit has been but transferred to the New World. He, like Rodó, says it is like the comparison "entre Sancho y Don Quijote, entre Caliban y Ariel."[30]

> Y dada la atomización del conglomerado Hispano-América en múltiples y microscópicas repúblicas, por obra del persistente y desociador espíritu de individualismo, de la raza española, la unidad anglo-sajona, que actúa como ariete formidable, resulta peligro evidente.[31]

His greatest eloquence is called into play when he chides the United

29 Rufino Blanco-Fombona. El espejo de tres faces. Ediciones Ercilla, Santiago de Chile, 1937, prólogo.
30 Blanco-Fombona, Los conquistadores del siglo xvi, 7.
31 Ibid.

States for her use of such terms as "la democracia," "la justicia," "la libertad," "la necesidad económica," and other rhetorical expressions, when her actions are brutal, aggressive, and imperialistic. The word and the deed, he says, can not be reconciled.[32]

In his essay, "Los Estados Unidos del norte y las Repúblicas del sur" he again contrasts words and again contrasts words and actions of the United States, placing most of the blame for the situation on Latin America. "Lo estúpido es permanecer inermes y desunidos creyendo a la América Sajona bajo da fe de su palabra aunque los hechos, que perduran, desmientan y desvanezcan palabras ya muertas en el aire apenas las emite la voz de la política."[33] He cites Jackson's operations in Florida, Polk's in Texas, McKinley's in the Antilles, Roosevelt in Panama, Taft in Nicaragua, and Wilson in Mexico, saying, "Siempre encontramos a Los Estados Unidos del Norte agrediendo a los Estados Desunidos del Sur...y despojándolos cuando pueden, y siempre desacreditándolos...."[34] As agencies operating in this discrediting process he names, "sus oradores parlamentarios, sus charlatanes de mítines, sus diarios, sus cinematógrafos y sus cables."[35]

While the Yankees were fighting in the first World War for the independence of nations, he says, "Violan la correspondencia que sostienen entre si países neutrales,...amenazan a España...desopinan a Don Alfonso XIII, árbitro en una diferencia de fronteras entre Honduras y Nicaragua...

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32 Ibid.
33 Blanco-Fombona, El espejo de tres faces, 364.
34 Ibid., 363.
35 Ibid.

y cierran, además el Gólfo de México. Habremos de creerlos?"[36]

Again, like Ugarte and Rodó, Blanco-Fombona believes Latin America could wield much more power acting as one nation, rather than many different republics. He asks, "¿A qué engañarnos? Los Estados Unidos juran a la Argentina, por ejemplo...mientras atacan a México, en cambio juran amor y amistad a Mexico, mientras apoyan al Brasil..."[37] and so on. His point is well taken. Any foreign power can easily pit one country against the other, whereas a united front would prevent any such interference by other nations.

Blanco-Fombona[38] has classified the international relations of Latin America under three headings:

(1) Threat of monarchial Europe which was answered by the rebirth of Bolívar's continental ideas of federation and solidarity, and by the Monroe Doctrine, which was well received in Latin America at the time.

(2) The growing mistrust of the United States since 1845-1850 because of its mutilation of Mexico and filibusterism in Central America, and a permanent mistrust of Europe.

(3) Hatred and fear of the United States and a decreasing suspicion of Europe.

He then, like his fellow essayists, will believe that Latin America should seek assistance in Europe to counterbalance the pressure she feels exerted upon her by the United States.

"The history of our ephemeral unions is the history of foreign aggres-

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36 Ibid., 364.
37 Ibid., 363.
38 Goldberg, 334.

sion,"[39] he states, well realizing that Latin America's future as well as her past will be inevitably tied up with that of foreign powers.

Some of the Yankees, he says, are very frank about their imperialistic ambitions. One title that annoyed him especially was, American Supremacy, the Rise and Progress of the Latin American Republics and Their Relations to the United States under the Monroe Doctrine, by George W. Crichfield.[40] Also Latin America takes a second place always, the Yankees speaking of Hispano-Americans as the "other Americans." He harks back to the early days of both Americas, stating that the two could in no way be compared. The United States were thirteen small colonies in a relatively small area, with a relatively small population. The Spanish empire occupied a continent from the South Pole to the Gulf of Mexico. It was "hasta entonces el mayor imperio colonial conocido después de Roma."[41]

He also, as Ugarte and Rodó, compares the two peoples' treatment of the native races. "Mientras España fundó una civilización cruzando su raza con la indígena, los ingleses destruyeron a los aborigenes."[42] He also traces the development of the two continents, acknowledging the tremendous power acquired by the United States. "Los yanquis constituyen una grande poderosísima nación, envidia de Europa, que busca extenderse en el espacio, y que su poderío se acrezca: hacia bien."[43] He asks, however, "¿Haremos bien nosotros, sus vecinos de continente, en oponer la candidez

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39 Ibid.
40 Two volumes, Brentano's New York, 1908.
41 Blanco-Fombona, El espejo de tres faces, 59.
42 Ibid., 107.
43 Ibid., 363.

a la política, la dibilidad al imperialismo, la ignorancia a circunstancias que la inteligencia humana puede modificar en su provecho?"[44] It is Latin America's fault, he says, for allowing herself to be exploited by such men as Juan Vicente Gómez in Venezuela, and Gerardo Machado in Cuba, whom he believes to be merely the tools of Yankee imperialism. "Machado les entregó en Cuba el azúcar, el tobaco, el territorio nacional, propiedad hoy yanqui. Los grandes economistas del Norte arruinaron a Cuba."[45] Gómez and his satellites he scorns with this caustic comment: "Simples esclavas de los Estados Unidos, fantoches en manos del "manager" yanqui; nada más."[46]

Ceaselessly throughout his essays you find repeated, "los yanquis, los yanquis, los yanquis." On the assassination of President McKinley he wrote:

> Odio a MacKinely porque ha abierto la ambición del imperialismo yanqui; porque sus manos de verdugo señalan a la codicia del Norte muestra gran patria de Hispano-América. Lo abomino porque humilló a muestra raz, humillando a España. Lo odio porque es odioso. Nunca bala fué mejor dirigida.[47]

There is no doubt about the strength of his feeling.

The solution is solidarity, and this man of action uses it not only as a solution but a weapon with which to fight back. Blanco-Fombona returns repeatedly to the aims of his hero, Bolívar. "Lo estúpido en nosotros es no comprender todavía que Bolívar tuvo razón y que, como indicó el presidente argentino Sáenz Peña, es necesario en una u otra forma, vol-

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44 Ibid.
45 Ibid., 107.
46 Ibid., 108.
47 Weisinger, 215.

ver a los ideales americanos del Grande Hombre."[48]

He believes people of Latin stock should unite together, that Latins in Europe owe Latin America their support, and should help her to withstand any Yankee influences to which she is subject. In his essay on "El cine Yanqui y algunos de nuestros pueblos," he applauds the Spanish government for preventing the exhibition of a Yankee anti-Spanish film. He asks that the Spanish government "invite a todos los Gobiernos hispanoamericanos...sin excepción alguna, a que no permitan en su territorio la exhibición de esa película ni de ninguna película donde no se trate con el respeto debido a cualquier pueblo de nuestra comunidad hispánica."[49] He declares that, "Será un paso práctico, el primero, hacia anfictionía con que soñó Bolívar, el Libertador."[50] It is his belief, and he substantiates it by reports from his countrymen residing in New York, that the movies and the cables are "industrias políticas y que en las conviencias y en los odios de la política nacional se inspiran."[51]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Blanco-Fombona notes the appearance of two new currents: Pan Americanism, with Anglo-American influence predominating, and Pan-Hispanism, which tends to counteract the first. He strongly advises in the new twentieth century, a spirit of friendship with Europe at all costs, to offset the imperialism of the United States, since, "that country by its customs, its conception of life,

48 Blanco-Fombona, El espejo de tres faces, 364.
49 Rufino Blanco-Fombona. Motivos y letras de España. Renacimiento, Madrid, 1930, 320.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., 315.

its incapacity for the Fine Arts and its lack of ideals, is the opposite pole of South America."[52]

While Blanco-Fombona believes Latin America should seek the aid of Europe, he maintains she should develop her own literature, "un arte autoctono." Not Indian, not Spanish, but a literature that reflects her own spiritual being. "¿En que consiste," he asks, "el ser criollista, cultivador de arte genuino americano? Consiste en concebir el arte eterno, universal, al través, deliberadamente, de un alma personal y al través, sin darse cuenta, del alma de un pueblo, de nuestro pueblo."[53]

Latin America should try to emancipate their art from the European art, even though it is that which gave them life. He states,"Buscamos la unidad en la diferencia."[54] Europe has a lesson to teach them. Each race in Europe has conserved its own nature.

> No podemos confundir la música alemana con la de Italia; ni el genio colonizador y comerciante del Inglés con el genio literario y militar de Francia; ni el furente estoicismo de España con la metódica virilidad, la energía de ojos grises de Holanda o de los Pueblos Escandinavos.[55]

He wants the literary movement to be spontaneous. "No repercusión de lo que ocurre en Europa, principalmente en Francia."[56] Blanco-Fombona admits that Latin America is basically but a prolongation of Europe. He says, "Somos la Europa del extremo Occidente."[57] The sources of their lit-

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52 Goldberg, 335.
53 Rufino Blanco-Fombona. El modernismo y los poetas modernistas. Editorial mundo latino, Madrid, 1929, 357.
54 Ibid., 359.
55 Ibid., 360.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., 361.

erature are Latin, principally Spanish, but of them he wants one goal, "Aspiramos a enriquecer esa cultura con un acento inconfundible."[58] Besides a need to express her own individual nature, Blanco-Fombona feels that if Latin America does nothing in the arts but imitate Europe, she will incur their distain. Europe expects an original, artistic contribution from Latin America to the world's store. He does not censure any borrowings made from the Europeans, especially from the Spanish and French, but he believes that from the foreign flowers, they must, like skillful bees, make their own honey.[59] "El árbol, pino del Norte, o palmera del Mediodía, hunde sus raíces en la tierra sustentadora; pero las ramas y la copa beben sol en espacio abierto, universal. Excelente lección."[60]

According to Blanco-Fombona, Latin America has already made the following contributions to Castillian literature: (1) A deep love of nature, (2) A more vivid feeling for landscape, mountain coolness, breath of pampas, virgin forest and seas, (3) A cult of form, a love of elegant things, (4) A dynamic prose, (5) Verses free of the old pneumatic elegance, (6) Tenderness and sensualism in art, as exemplified by Nájera.[61]

Pervading all his works, besides this anti-yankeephobia feeling, you will find the intense worship he has for Simón Bolívar. Any subject on which he is writing serves to lend itself to a comparison or contrast with, or an example taken from Bolívar's life, works or philosophy. Gold-

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58 Ibid.
59 Goldberg, 328.
60 Blanco-Fombona, El Modernismo y los poetas modernistas, 359.
61 Goldberg, 354.

berg,[62] tells us that if we would understand Blanco-Fombona, with anything like completeness, we must know his Bolivarolatry, and his intense worship of the Great Liberator, to whom he has tried to be true with pen and sword.

Blanco-Fombona believes that Simón Bolívar alone understood that Latin America was destined for leadership, that she would one day lead in the destinies of the planet. "Y por eso luchó toda la vida: por unirla. No pudo consequirlo sino un momento. Aquél fué el único momento glorioso de vuestra América."[63]

He believes that America has produced some great artists and statesmen, but only one genius of action and of thought, from the Bering Strait to the Straits of Magellan, Bolívar. There are many, he says, who close an epoch or contribute toward opening a new one, but only Bolívar was the man of the future. In this he believes only Caesar can be compared to him. "César como Bolívar y Bolívar como César agren la mueva época, no imples juguetes del destino sino preparadores conscientes de la mueva edad historica."[64] Bismarck, Washington, Napoleon, all were superior men, whose personal action coincided with a great moment, but none of these, he believes, rank with Caesar and Bolívar, who were not only men of the moment, but heroes of the transformation of one era into another.

Bolívar freed his country as Washington did, crossed the mountains as did Hannibal, entered capitals triumphantly as did Napoleon. Such is the picture of the warrior. Blanco-Fombona admonishes us that there is far, far more to the character of Bolívar. "Bolívar obtuvo la dictadura, como

62 Ibid., 314.
63 Blanco-Fombona, El espejo de tres faces, 69.
64 Ibid., 174.

César; legisló como Licurgo; fué tribuno popular, como Graco; y si Alejandro legó su propio nombre a una ciudad, Bolívar legó el suyo a plazas, calles, ciudades, departamentos, provincias y hasta a toda una hermosa nación."[65]

Blanco-Fombona's worship for the Liberator illumines all his writings as the sun. In one of his essays he calls Bolívar the pride of his race, declares that his work is a gift to all Americans, and says that his genius adorns universal history.

The one good thing he has to say about the United States is connected with his hero. Bolívar's name, he says, and the comprehension of his genius and his good works were there known even better than in France or England perhaps because, "El espíritu liberal y republicano estaba allí mas difundido; además, aquello les tocaba más de cerca, dada la comunidad de continente, y porque la obra de Bolívar consolidaba y prestigiaba la de Wáshington."[66]

Let us now consider the character of this man who is so much a creature of action, who has such very strong likes and dislikes, whose tempestuous life could not help but develop a vibrant alive personality.

One writer believes the primitive man mingles strangely with the man of culture, the Spanish hidalgo with the Venezuelan patriot in the make-up of Rufino Blanco-Fombona.[67] The escapades of his early days, the hot-tempered spirit of his countless embroglios in South America and in Europe, the adventuresome wanderlust that carried him from prisons to virgin for-

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65 Ibid., 359.
66 Ibid., 346.
67 Goldberg, 314.

ests to the European capitals, all seem to attest the hidalgo quick to resent attacks, fancied or real, quick to recognize bravery, friendly or hostile, and scornful of life when honor is at stake. The aristocratic strain in his heredity may be responsible for this side of his character. The insurrecto strain deeded him by his revolutionist grandfather may be responsible for the side that rebells against injustice, race playing no part in his prejudices, that sees a wrong to be righted, and works toward that end even though it means attacking his own country, that has endowed him with a white-hot sincerity of motive. It is interesting to analyze such a vital personality. As Goldberg says, "Somewhat like Darío, he has become legendary in his own day."[68] Darío himself in one of his finest bits of prose has likened Blanco-Fombona to a denizen of the Italy of Cardinal de Ferrar, or of Benvenuto Cellini.

Almost all of his works are pervaded by a hatred for injustice. As Weisinger says, "Igual a su odio a la injusticia que reina en la presente organización social es su amor salvaje a la libertad y la completa independencia personal."[69]

The themes of his novels are all built around social and political injustice. He depicts people who are victims of a malevolent society. His absorption with this theme smacks a little of a desire for revenge for his own maltreatment at the hands of the Venezuelan political leaders. "The early imprisonment of the author explains in a large measure the development of his pugnacious nature into a torch of patriotism and hatred for

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68 Ibid.
69 Weisinger, 216.

every phase of oppression...."[70] As one of his critics writes of Blanco-Fombona's style: "Tyrants are not flayed with strips of silk lace or drowned in vases of cologne water. Against his tyrant the very trees turn in indignation; the mountain whither he has fled refuses him shelter.... All nature rebels against him."[71]

It seems indeed that Blanco-Fombona cannot write detatchedly. Lewes, in his biography of Goethe wrote, "The whole man thinks." We might say that when Blanco-Fombona works, the whole man writes.[72] This same critic writes, "It seems organically impossible for Blanco-Fombona to be dull."[73]

One must not suppose that he is lacking in the more tender traits. Some of his poetry, and pages in his two novels show a haunting pathos that leads us to believe that beneath the braggadocio and swashbuckling manner is a tender heart capable of very delicate expression.

As a critic, he makes lively reading. He does more than review and comment; he maintains a running fire of commentary, suggestion and refutation, plunging his entire personality into the task. So widely read a student as Gonzáles-Blanco declares that Blanco-Fombona's essays on Sarmiento, Gonzáles Prada and Hostos, /in Grandes escritores de América/ may be considered among the excellent pages of Spanish criticism produced in the past twenty years. /Written in 1920/ [74] He seems to be deeply sensitive to the importance of background and epoch, especially, and is above all crea-

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70 Goldberg, 322.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., 353.
73 Ibid., 359.
74 Ibid., 329.

tive in his criticism.

As an essayist Goldberg[75] believes Blanco-Fombona to be the complement of Rodó, possessing the irony, pugnacity and variety that was lacking in the Uruguayan master. "Rodó's prose is the luxuriant variegated plain; Blanco-Fombona's is the sturdy sierra. It takes both to produce the Spanish-American landscape."[76]

Another critic declares Blanco-Fombona to be one of the most prolific if not the most objective literary critic of his generation, but that it is as an essayist that he has exerted his greatest influence.[77] "He began his fiery anti-Yankee campaign pleading for union against the northern tyrant. He is also one of the most ardent defenders of Spain's role in America and a strong proponent of dynamic Spanish-Americanism."[78]

Coester declares, "As a modernist poet, Blanco-Fombona must be reckoned as the foremost representative of Venezuela in the modernist movement," and that "His criollo novel, El hombre de hierro, gives him a high place as a writer of fiction."[79]

Another critic praises him for his ability to compress a characterization into a crystal-clear vignette, believing that this ability is indicative of intimate acquaintance with de Maupassant.[80]

Gonzáles-Blanco calls him, "El polígrafo representante de la América de estos tiempos."[81]

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75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
77 Hespelt, 127.
78 Ibid.
79 Coester, 328.
80 Goldberg, 343.
81 As quoted in Weisinger, 215.

F. García Godoy wrote an essay on Blanco-Fombona in which he said:

> Buen novelista, buen poeta, escritor brillantísimo, hombre sincero, altivo, valiente, apasionado, Rufino Blanco-Fombona es, como literato, un literato a quien hay que tomar en consideración, y como persona, un caballero interesantísimo, cuya vida dramática y curiosa tiene algo de romance y algo de novela.[82]

Darío wrote a preface to Pequeña ópera lírica in which he said, "I enjoy the verses of this Spanish-American poet, who is so much of Italy, so much of the Renaissance, although he is very much of today, and has Spanish blood, and was born in Caracas, and dwells in Paris."[83] Blanco-Fombona has the ability, conceded by all, of piercing at once to the heart of his characters; drawing in the background with swift sure strokes. His pages may be at times overdrawn, but they are never dull. "Competent witnesses declare that his pictures of Venezuelan manners are true to life; here as everywhere else you get the impression that whatever else the man may be, he is intensely, even fanatically sincere."[84]

There is no doubt that Blanco-Fombona has exerted a great deal of influence. Goldberg says of his Pequeña ópera lírica, "The collection...produced a marked effect upon the youth of the day. A certain deceptive simplicity, as well as an ardent spontaneity, was responsible for this influence."[85]

Editorial Ercilla, which published Blanco-Fombona's El espejo de tres faces said, "Su celebridad se debe, en partes iguales, a sus vigorosas

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82 Ibid., 216.
83 As quoted in Goldberg, 320.
84 Ibid., 339.
85 Ibid., 320.

novelas, y a sus agudas y audaces críticas. Y también a sus poemas de un acento viril y fuerte."[86]

Blanco-Fombona says that he himself is no professional critic. His purpose is not to praise nor to critize, but, "Fué simple, exclusivamente, de contribuir á divulgar en toda la extensión del mundo castellano el nombre de varones magníficos, que nos dieron ejemplo con su vida, y despertar la curiosidad hacia la obra espiritual es esos hombres de pro."[87] He considers himself as an apostle then of Spanish-American letters, one whose purpose is to make known their best works throughout the world. Perhaps Latin America needs more such as he.

A somewhat pessimistic attitude, a feeling that injustice too oftens triumphs is found in much of his work. In one place he says, "No lo puedo negar: las injusticias me sublevan.... A veces creo que todas, cualesquiera que sean su carácter y su motivo."[88] And in another place, "Lo más hermoso que existe sobre la tierra es la justicia. Es también lo más raro .... Entre los atributos de la divinidad colocamos la justicia...."[89]

He asks himself, "¿Cómo cambiar el mundo?" and answers, "Con la palabra...sin ella, el mundo pertenecería a los brutos potentes. Los tiene a raya, sola, sin armas y desnuda, la Idea."[90] Blanco-Fombona was a man who practiced what he preached, for if he believed words would change the world he certainly did his part as poet, novelist, critic and esayist to follow

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86 Blanco-Fombona, El espejo de tres faces, editorial comment.
87 Rufino Blanco-Fombona. Grandes escritores de América. Renacimiento, Madrid, 1917, 7.
88 Blanco-Fombona, Motivos y letras de España, 189.
89 Ibid., 221.
90 Ibid., 341.

his own advice.

Blanco-Fombona was distinctly an individual as can be seen from his own life and words. He said, "I hate schools. Neither in politics nor in literature have I an "ist" of any sort. I am I."[91] His firm belief in Latin America developing a culture distinct from any of that of Europe is exemplified by these words, "Soy de veras un hispano-americano o si lo prefería, un español de una vasta España ideal, un neo-español."[92]

In the prefact to his book El modernismo y los poetas modernistas he states that the reader will note he never speaks of himself as citizen of a particular country. As, philosophically, he is a brother to all men, in the field of literature he does not wish to be connected with any one country, but to belong to the vast nation of those who speak the Spanish tongue. "Soy un patriota de todo el que habla y escribe en español."[93]

The substance of his work is sincerity; it can be felt clearly through all his writings. He is always the passionate patriot, and often his passion rises higher than his patriotism. With all his censure of Latin America, he still has great faith in her ability to create her own future, and a belief that underlying the various separate republics is a base of unity. "The sentiment of Americanism is very strong in our countries, despite our not being joined by a common political bond,"[94] he says. Offenses directed against any of the Latin American nations wound all, he believes, and if Europe or the United States, thinking them weak, should one day try to at-

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91 Goldberg, 323.
92 Blanco-Fombona, El modernismo y los poetas modernistas, 6.
93 Ibid.
94 Goldberg, 327.

tack the Latin American race, "This race that is the grandchild of the Cid and the daughter of Juárez, Sucre, San Martín, holds tremendous surprises and cruel disillusionments in store for them."[95]

Much criticism was directed against him, of both literary and political types. He is censured for his insistence upon the action element and for "his narrowing scorn for sheer beauty in men who have not been born with his peculiar constitution."[96] No less a name in Spanish literary criticism than Ford says, in speaking of Blanco-Fombona's attitude toward the United States, "Blanco-Fombona is instinctively a roisterer and has the habits of one; but he is also a writer of more than ordinary force and can work much harm."[97] Another critic believes his animosity is the mistaken transference to an entire people of the dislike he feels for certain policies fostered by certain administrations, pointing out how wrong he is to "erect this motive into an unthinking hatred of an entire republic."[98] This same critic however, in another place says, very broad-mindedly, that, "We must accept him for what he is, a thoroughly human, sincere, passionate fighter in causes that he deems just."[99]

Blanco-Fombona is a complex personality, very much of the present, not a little of the past, and just as much of the future. His life was full of errors but no less replete with glory. He had lived every moment and lived it hard, has often been wrong, but never wittingly unjust. His

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95 Ibid., 327.
96 Ibid., 324.
97 J.D.M. Ford. Main Currents of Spanish Literature. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1919, 274.
98 Goldberg, 312.
99 Ibid., 359.

friends and foes alike knew where he stood, for he was utterly sincere. This seems to be the synthesis of the man.

These three men, Rodó, Ugarte, and Blanco-Fombona, have not only succeeded in making known their ideas in Latin America, but have created quite a concern in the United States as to how their accusations can be met, and how their questions can be answered. One man writes that Blanco-Fombona's opposition must be met not pushed aside. He is listened to in Europe and in Spanish America and should be heard here.[100]

The United States' view that Latin America is entirely wrong is myopic, fatuous and dangerous. The United States is committing the blunder of underestimating Latin America. As it takes two to make a quarrel, so it takes two to make a friendship. For that purpose a little more literature and much less politics will go a long way. Wrong or right, the accusations and accriminations of these writers must be met with something more than silence.

100 Ibid., 312.

CHAPTER VI

FUTURE OUTLOOK

A problem studied in detail, such as this, must be seen also in a larger perspective. What is to be said, then, of the future relations of Latin America and the United States? It seems quite evident that the two groups of peoples will have to learn to work together. Their geographical juxtaposition presupposes this conclusion, and their form of government has been built along the same lines. As Enrique Gil so aptly writes:

> Dueños de vastos territorios,...hijos de dos o tres razas europeas...teniendo que resolver a la par los mismas dificultades y los mismos problemas, inspirados por los mismos ideales y teniendo, dentro de sus peculiaridades individuales a los mismos fines, constituyeron desde sus comienzos, "una gran familia" a pesar de sus diferencias de raza, lengua, religión, costumbres y carácter.[1]

The people of these two continents then, are different, but not diverse; their destinies will run in parallel lines because of their many great similarities. Those of anglo-saxon origin seem to think intellectually in a process that moves from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract, from the objective to the subjective, and those of latin origin follow precisely the reverse order. However, are differences such as these, strong enough to move the two civilizations in opposite directions? Señor Gil thinks not. "El destino de los diversos pueblos en América es manifiesto...corren en lineas parallelas. Se integran,

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1 Enrique Gil. Evolución del panamericanismo. Librería y Casa Editorial de Jesús Menéndez, Buenos Aires, 1933, 306.

se complementan."[2] Differences, then, do not necessarily imply opposition and diversity.

Latin America, however, has been fighting for sovereignty and independence for many years. She gained them nominally in the Wars for Independence, but wants to make sure that the principles won at such a cost are not jeopardized by foreign powers. Sovereignty and independence, if they mean anything at all, mean exclusive territorial jurisdiction. The question is raised by Gaston Nerval[3] in his work, Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine, that the difficulty will be to decide when such a point has been reached where the right of one nation to protect her citizens in another nation collides with the latter's sovereignty. Who is to decide this question? The trouble is that the stronger nation usually decided. Mr. Nerval says, "Until there is some sort of a world control of international relations this will continue to be the case, and the potential dangers of an abuse of the right of protection will exist."[4]

The history of United States' intervention in Latin America shows abuse of this right of protection. One writer states that the Big Stick intervention policy of the United States at one time "was symbolized by United States marines streaming ashore at Latin American ports to establish "order" in the name of Standard Oil or the National City Bank."[5]

There is no gainsaying the fact that within thirty-five years, the U-

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2 Ibid., 308.
3 Gaston Nerval. Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine. Macmillan and Company, New York, 1934, 295.
4 Ibid., 296.
5 Freda Kirchwey. "Intervention for Democracy." The Nation, February 9, 1946, 162:156.

nited States had acquired Porto Rico, naval bases in Cuba, the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands; had intervened with troops in Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Mexico, and had acquired the legal right to intervene in Cuba, Haiti, Panama and Mexico. The reasons for these actions much of the time were, protection of United States citizens, collection of debts, and the forestalling of intervention by nations outside this hemisphere. Sad to say too, "Throughout this period...our financial and commercial interests had extended their empires in Latin America, frequently without much regard for social welfare."[6] Did the United States, then, allow Latin America "exclusive territorial jurisdiction?"

The Latin American nations have realized for many years their need for better, closer relations among themselves. Their strength lies in their unity. For more than a century they have been making efforts to reduce their political disagreements and to amplify their cultural harmonies. Some of them have met in the exclusively Latin American conferences at Panamá in 1826, at Lima in 1847, at Santaigo in 1856, at Lima again in 1864, and at Bogotá in 1880. For the past fifty years they have all sent representatives to the periodic Pan-American conferences which convened successively at Washington, Mexico City, Río de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo and Lima. "All told, some of the American nations have met together in more than one hundred conferences dealing with such various subjects as the codification of the international law of the Amer-

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[6] Joseph M. Jones. "Good Neighbors, New Style." Harper's Magazine, April, 1946, 314.

icas, radio,...public health and sanitation."[7] They have learned it pays to talk over their common problems together.

Another evidence of this desire to discuss their problems is found in the "International Congress of Americanists," founded more than seventy-five years ago, and used as a meeting place for well over an average attendance of three hundred scholars at each meeting.[8] Their discussions on learned subjects range from Incan mummies to present population problems.

Bolivia and Paraguay, less than three years after the close of the Chaco War, /1932-1935/ concluded four pacts providing for cooperation in matters of communications, trade and cultural exchange.[9] A Paraguayan-Bolivian Institute has recently been set up in Asunción, and a Bolivian-Paraguay Institute in La Paz to spread knowledge of each other's culture. A Dominican-Chilean Cultural Institute has been created in the Dominican Republic to teach the Dominicans more about Chile, and to strengthen the bonds between the two countries. The early decades of the twentieth century were characterized by this growing harmony among the nations of Latin America. By the 1940's there was only one serious frontier dispute unsettled, that between Ecuador and Peru, and the outlook for a growing Latin American solidarity seemed favorable.

The United States too, was realizing the benefits to be derived from a closer relationship with the Latin American republics. She was not invited to all the Latin American Conferences, for they met many times pri-

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[7] Donald Marquand Dozer. "The New Social Pan-Americanism." The Catholic World, July 1941, 153:450.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 451.

marily to discuss the Colossus of the North, but toward the end of the nineteenth century, in 1888 to be exact, we find a bill authorizing the holding of a Pan-American Conference passing both houses of Congress and getting the approval of President Cleveland. An invitation was extended to all the Latin American countries to meet in Washington in 1889.

The history of Pan-Americanism falls roughly into three periods, according to Joseph B. Lockey.[10] The first embraces the years of revolution and the formation of new states, and extends to about 1830. It is characterized by a strong tendency toward continental solidarity. The second period covers the years to 1860 and is permeated by a feeling of distrust, and the third period takes us to the present time, and is marked by a tendency toward fraternal cooperation.

This third period of "fraternal cooperation" was beset with difficulties which were not always fraternally treated, nor cooperatively handled. The basis for Mr. Lockey's characterization of this period as such must lie in the fundamental belief of all the American nations, that cooperation and fraternity must be achieved, and that the need for them is of utmost importance, even though the going at times, is rough.

At the First Pan-American Conference, it was decided that the Conference was to be recommendatory and consultative only. The agenda, as proposed by the United States, included the following points: (1) Formation of an American Customs Union, (2) Steamship communications, (3) Adoption of a common silver coin, (4) Uniform customs regulations, weights and measures, and (5) A definite plan of arbitration of all disputes and differences.

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10 Joseph Byrne Lockey. Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920, preface.

Argentina frankly contested Washington's leadership. Sáenz Peña, an Argentine delegate, opposed United States Secretary of State Blaine's slogan of "America for the Americans" with the broader slogan "Let America be for mankind."[11]

An arbitration treaty was formed at this conference, providing for "obligatory arbitration" on all matters of dispute except those involving independence of a nation, but was not ratified. All but Chile adopted a resolution to the effect that the principle of conquest be not recognized as admissible under American public law.

The Second Pan-American Conference held at Mexico City in 1901 accomplished the following: (1) A number of the Latin American states signed the obligatory arbitration treaty, (2) Seventeen countries including the United States signed a treaty for arbitration of pecuniary claims, (3) A resolution was adopted to have a Pan-American meeting held within the next five years, and (4) The principles of the First Hague Conference for the pacific settlement of international disputes was recognized by the American republics as a part of "Public International American Law."

The Third Pan-American Conference which was held at Río de Janeiro in 1906 arranged for the continuation in force of the treaty for the arbitration of pecuniary claims. Other resolutions such as sanitary regulations and improvement of commercial relations were adopted.

The Fourth Pan-American Conference held in Buenos Aires in 1910 is

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11 Raymond Leslie Buell. "The Montevideo Conference and the Latin American Policy of the United States." Foreign Policy Reports, November 22, 1933, 9:214.

noteworthy for "the spirit of harmony which apparently prevailed."[12] The agenda had been more carefully prepared and the delegates were able to work rapidly and efficiently. The representatives reported on actions of their governments taken on the resolutions and recommendations of the Third Conference, and conventions on patents, trade-marks, and copyrights were prepared.

Due to the first World War, the Fifth Pan-American Conference did not convene in Santiago until 1923. "During the period which elapsed between the fourth and fifth conferences, Latin America became increasingly critical of the Caribbean policy of the United States. Writer after writer in Latin America warned his countrymen against the menace to the north."[13] They felt that the United States, in refusing to join the League of Nations, had betrayed its trusts. A number of Latin American republics entered the League in hopes that it would protect the territorial integrity of the Western Hemisphere against the United States as well as other great powers, and also, the League offered them a forum in which they might air their grievances against their northern neighbor.

At the Fifth Pan-American Conference, all states except Costa Rica and Salvador signed a treaty providing for the creation of a commission of inquiry in case of a dispute between any American nations. The commission had a year to render its report, and during this time, plus six months for rendering it, the parties concerned were under obligation not to resort to war or mobilization or concentration of troops.

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12 Ibid., 215.
13 Ibid.

There was much discontent with the way the Pan-American Conferences were operated. It was thought that: (1) The Conferences studiously avoided political questions, (2) The United States was unwilling to accept any international restrictions on its freedom of action in political matters, and (3) This attitude of the United States was incompatible with the basic principles of Pan-Americanism and international cooperation laid down by Bolívar and Alberdi.[14]

In Havana in 1928, the Sixth Pan-American Conference (1) Adopted conventions on codifying various branches of international law, (2) Adopted a convention on commercial aviation, and (3) Declared that all aggression was prohibited and pacific means should be employed to settle conflicts.

At the Seventh Pan-American Conference held in Montevideo in 1933, the Good Neighbor Policy was much in evidence. The principles of sovereignty and non-intervention were given definite expression and at Buenos Aires in 1936 specific details were added. "The High Contracting Parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any one of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any one of the Parties."[15]

Conspicuously outstanding among Pan-American organizations are the American Scientific Congresses. The eighth such congress which met in 1940 gave some 2300 American scholars an opportunity to share their conclusions with each other in many different fields.

Despite these conference efforts to maintain harmony among the Latin

14 Ibid., 217.
15 Charles G. Fenwick. "The Inter-American Regional System." The American Political Science Review, June, 1945, 39:492.

American nations, there were six wars between the various South American states between 1825 and 1935 plus a much larger number of skirmishes along contested borders.[16] Disputes raged over the navigation of international rivers, conspiracies were hatched by political refugees across international frontiers, and military chiefs seeking revenge tried to seize territory and rich natural resources claimed by their neighbors.

The 1860-1870 decade was one of the darkest in the history of America. The United States was engaged in a terrible civil war and in South America every country except Chile, Brazil and Paraguay was shaken by revolt and revolution. Following this turbulent decade, the United States deviated from its nationalistic policy, changing to an international one, at the same time sprouting imperialistic tendencies. In the early 1900's the United States' policy was quite aggressive. "It aroused suspicion and hostility in Latin America."[17]

By the late 1920's, the Latin Americans were in such a state of hysteria over intervention by the Colossus of the North that the security of the United States, far from being promoted by such intervention, was actually being jeopardized. Then came President Wilson's international idealism which stressed national self determination and sovereignty, and which moved United States opinion toward cries to end intervention and "dollar diplomacy."

The 1920's and early '30's were years of bitterness and distrust in the relations of the United States and its neighbors as well as among some

16 J. Fred Rippy. South America and Hemisphere Defense. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1941, 41.
17 Ibid., 19.

of the Latin American nations themselves. Paraguay and Bolivia fought a bloody war, and Peru and Colombia engaged in conflict. In 1926 tension was augmented when Washington sent five thousand marines and bluejackets to suppress a civil war in Nicaragua, and, as one writer states, "virtually elevated Adolfo Díaz to the Presidency."[18]

It is quite evident that an organization to promote good will among the various republics was drastically needed. Also, it seemed quite obvious that the Pan-American organization was not keeping the peace, and fulfilling its purpose of creating good will. The need for a new well-thought-out foreign policy and one with an effective organization was clearly seen during the years of World War ii in the United States. As Graham H. Stuart wrote, "We have always thought of ourselves as 'buenos amigos' to the republics south of the Rio Grande, but we have not always been able to make them believe it."[19] This calls then, for better salesmanship on the part of the northern republic. He goes on to say, "Conceding that one of the reasons has been certain sins of commission, certainly another has been the sin of omission. The agencies for carrying out our foreign policies both in Washington and in the field were not geared to the load put upon them."[20]

Although the United States was always interested in her sister republics to the South, it wasn't until 1870 that two geographical bureaus were set up, the second bureau to have jurisdiction over the Latin American re-

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18 Buell, 218.

19 Graham H. Stuart. "The New Office of American Republic Affairs in the Department of State." The American Political Science Review, June, 1945, 39:481.

20 Ibid., 482.

gion and certain other areas. In 1909 the Division of Latin American Affairs was established, Its jurisdiction was limited to the twenty American republics. When this Division was overwhelmed with work in the Mexican Revolutionary period, a Division of Mexican Affairs was established in 1915. In January of1944, the United States reorganized its Latin American Affairs Office, establishing five division according to regions. They are as follows: (1) Division of Mexican Affairs, (2) Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs, (3) Division of Brazilian Affairs, (4) Division of Bolivian and West Coast Affairs, and (5) Division of River Plate Affairs.

This division of the Latin American republics' affairs was seen necessary as a result of World War II developments, and the need also was seen for a strengthening of those organizations which handled southern hemisphere affairs. The United States decided to "maintain and strengthen the governmental agencies upon which the responsibility will primarily rest."[21] It was also felt that the problems which would arise must be dealt with by men"who understand the Latin American point of view and who have the technical and moral qualifications which the job requires...."[22] One writer declares, "Not only should the Union shift the emphasis "southward," but the time has surely come to add a number of distinguished Latin Americans to its staff...."[23]

The United States was realizing finally, that with men representing her who were well versed in Latin American affairs, and who understood the

21 Dana G. Munro. "Post-war Problems in Our Latin-American Relations." The American Political Science Review, June 1944, 38:530.
22 Ibid.
23 Walter R. Sharp. "The Inter-American System and the United Nations." Foreign Policy Reports, April, 1945, 23:463.

Latin American viewpoint, she would not have to worry very much about abstract questions of policy.

Many students of Latin American affairs had felt for years that the whole Pan-American organization needed a good shake-up, that the best men procurable were not filling those jobs, and that the United States' entire Latin American organization needed reformation. Walter R. Sharp writes:

> It is encouraging that the official leadership of the inter-American system is at last giving serious attention to how it can best meet the requirements of the post war era. Even its most loyal friends will admit that it would benefit from a general stock-taking and some overhauling. The accumulation of dead wood in Pan Americanism should be cleared away. There is urgent need for a closer coordination of its institutional parts.[24]

The Latin American nations, too, have been very critical of the United States' participation in the Pan-American League. One Latin American visitor is quoted as saying, "The United States approaches Latin America from the same angle that the British approach India. The Rockefeller committee is transforming itself into the Colonial Office of the United States."[25] /Nelson Rockefeller was Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs during World War II./

The period of transition from war to peace offers many opportunities to the Pan-American Union to develop itself into an instrument of greater service between the republics of the two Americas. It is thought that the Union should concentrate not on the relations of the United States and the Latin American republics, but on the relations between those republics..

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24 Ibid.
25 "Roosevelt and Camacho." The Nation, May 1, 1943, 156:616.

There are many agencies lavishly endowed with funds that carry on extensive programs for the former purpose. Why should the Pan-American Union attempt to duplicate on a small scale what these agencies can do in a more impressive style? Money can not achieve the second purpose. A united front, a political unity, can be achieved only through mutual understanding. Only then can the Americas play an important part in the organization of world peace.

The United States, then, has gradually been changing its attitude toward the southern republics. In the early years of Roosevelt's presidency the Good Neighbor policy consisted largely of completing the job already begun by Secretary Stimson, of liquidating active interventions in Latin America, that is, use of troops, control of finances, forced cession of bases, etc,, and of abolishing the policy and habit of intervention. An earlier generation had conceived United States security needs in terms of bases controlled or owned throughout the Caribbean, and maintenance of order and stability within our defense zone. This policy was gradually abandoned.

Under President Hoover, United States marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua while world depression checked their economic expansion. Under President Roosevelt, the marines were withdrawn from Haiti, and in treaties with Cuba, Mexico and Panama, our legal right to intervene was renounced, and the Platt Amendment was repealed.[26] The policy of refusing to recognize revolutionary governments was abandoned and the United States formally agreed in inter-American conferences that "no state has the right to inter-

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26 Jones, 192.

vene in the internal or external affairs of another."[27]

To carry through their new policy, the United States appointed Mr. Spruille Braden, former Ambassador in Buenos Aires, to the position of Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs. Here was a man who had captured the Latin American imagination with his outspoken defense of American ideals, a man who knew Latin America, and whose diplomatic reputation was founded on his settlement of the Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia. After three years of fruitless negotiations, he addressed the Bolivian and Paraguayan people on the radio over the delegates' heads, and settlement quickly followed.[28]

In Cuba in 1944, as United States ambassador there, Spruille Braden helped make possible free elections. He forbade United States business interests in Cuba to pony up the usual election ante, $2,000,000 in this case, and otherwise encouraged a free vote. Batista, who was voted out, said of him, "He is more a man than a diplomat."[29]

Secretary Braden states his views thus: "The Good Neighbor Policy is one of respect which begins with self-respect and then mutual respect. It is a two-way, not a one-way street, to be traveled in dignity by both parties in full realization that they both have rights and responsibilities."[30] He believes that below the governing crust in Latin America are strong democratic forces looking to the United States for encouragement. Former Secretary in charge of Latin American Affairs Welles, fears that American

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27 Ibid.
28 "Democracy's Bull." Time Magazine, November 5, 1945, 46:45.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 47.

hemispheric solidarity will be broken up by the new United States policy. Secretary Braden feels. "that there has never been hemispheric unanimity on any basic issue, and that the only solidarity worth anything comes from devotion to common ideals and forms of government."[31]

Hemisphere cooperation thus seems about to get down to reality. And there are many in the State Department, including Braden, who hope that the new ideas now being put into effect in hemispheric policy will spread to American foreign policy as a whole.

For the ordinary man in Latin America, the new policy has one important meaning: it marks the end of gun-boat diplomacy and economic imperialism. Cultural missions, financial benefits, touring Hollywood stars, degrees conferred, or good-will tours were secondary. The Latin American's inherent pride and individualism is rejoicing that at last, perhaps, he is to be left to pursue his own destiny.

This friendly cooperative feeling can not be achieved overnight. The Latin American republics have much to remember regarding United States imperialism, and it will take time and hard work on the part of both peoples to erase that memory. From an early period the Monroe Doctrine has had some very unpleasant connotations for the Latin Americans. "It has been linked in their minds with the idea of intervention, and with a pretension to hegemony and dominating leadership."[32] American diplomats have learned by the experiences of the last quarter century that in political intercourse with Latin Americans, the less said about the Monroe Doctrine probably the

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31 Jones, 320.

32 Dexter Perkins. A History of the Monroe Doctrine. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1941, 388.

better.

The mere promise of the adoption of these principles of equality and respect for the sovereignty of other nations in the Latin American policy of the United States, carries with it an implicit disavowal of the practices of yesterday.[33] The policy of the Good Neighbor can not admit of imperialism, hegemony, armed intervention, territorial greed, interference in domestic affairs, or dollar diplomacy. The policy of the Good Neighbor is the antithesis of the policy of the Big Stick.

Fred J. Rippy states this ideal very well when he says, "In short, the contemporary American system is based upon principles of harmony, mutual assistance, and solidarity against aggression; it is founded on the belief that peoples of different races and cultures may live together in peace..."[34]

The United States is finding that she needs to study Latin American economic methods in order to better understand the people. During the last war, when she turned to Latin America to supplement European markets temporarily cut off, she discovered the wonderful old world craftsmanship there: the silversmiths of Taxco, potters of Puebla, Cuernavaca and Guadalajara, the leather workers and textile weavers of Guatemala, silversmiths and wood carvers of Lima, and wood carvers and embroidery workers of Bahia, to name only a few. Many surprises were in store for North American capitalists when they tried to develop these cottage industries. They found that the appetite of the United States markets is so voracious as to be beyond the conception of the Indian worker who is largely the craftsman of these countries. He is an individualist working lovingly over each product. "An

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33 Nerval, 288.
34 Rippy, 21.

order for a gross of anything is enormous in his conception and an order for a hundred or a thousand gross is astronomically unthinkable."[35] Likewise on Tuesday he can not make exactly the same sort of an article he produces on Monday. "He does not know, or want to know, about standardization or mass production."[36] James S. Carson[37] states that United States department store people who are going down there to organize these industries had better stay at home. The Indian system was a thousand years in the making and a year or two in the remaking would be but a moment in history. The United States has much to learn about the people who make up the nations to the south.

A fact which is favorable for good Latin American-United States relations is that the trade between them is largely complementary rather than competitive in character.[38] The United States in general exports manufactured and semi-manufactured goods to the Latin American states, receiving from them raw materials and foodstuffs. Trade during the war greatly helped to weld the Western Hemisphere into an economic unit.[39] The United States bought copper and nitrates from Chile, carpet wool and linseed from Argentina, tin from Bolivia, industrial diamonds from Brazil and manganese from Cuba. By May of 1941 purchases of materials and goods from Latin America totaled over $340,000,000.[40] This was 50% more than the United

35 James S. Carson. "Where We Fail as a Good Neighbor." The Survey Graphic, August, 1941, 30:423.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Charles A. Thomson. "Toward a New Pan-Americanism." Foreign Policy Reports, November 1, 1936, 12:211.
39 Carson, 423.
40 Ibid.

States bought from Latin America in the first four months of 1940, and about double its purchases for the same period in 1938.[41] "There has never been a period when inter-American cooperation was so close or so effective."[42]

Although this result was effected by a war, it is hoped that inter-American relations continue on the same plane during the difficult period following the war. Countless new forms of contact created by this growth in trade can not help but yield better understanding, especially if the laborers, specialists, and officials sent there participate in the domestic everyday life of the people.

The United States is finally becoming conscious of their southern neighbors as interesting, individual people, rather than as inhabitants of a piece of land appending from the southern border of Texas. As Donald M. Dozer[43] says, there has been almost a spasm for things Latin American in the United States during the last few years. There have been exhibitions of Latin American arts and crafts, orchestra leaders have discovered Brazil's Villa-Lobos, beauties from Latin America are invited to compete in Atlantic City beauty contests, Fifth Avenue stores display "topos," "turbans twisted in the flirtatious manner of the Bahianas," and all are urged to travel "south of the border."

At the Buenos Aires Conference in 1936, all the American nations signed a Convention of Interchange of Publications. Twelve of them have since ratified it and are now supplying each other with their publications.

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41 Ibid.
42 Munro, 522.
43 Dozer, 451.

The United States Library of Congress has prepared a list of 6,000 books which best depict life and thought in the United States, and the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations is sending copies of their books to Latin American countries.[44] These countries are also sending their books to the United States, Colombia for example having sent two hundred sets of a new hundred volume anthology of her best literature to selected institutions in the United States.[45]

In the summer of 1939, thirty-two United States publishing houses exhibited their books in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Río de Janeiro under local sponsorship, and at the close of the exhibitions presented the books to local organizations, "a gesture which was widely acclaimed in three southern capitals as a significant move toward better hemispheric understanding."[46]

At the same time a traveling exhibition of four hundred Latin American books furnished cooperatively by many of the southern governments at the request of the American Library Association, toured the United States. Book exchanges among Latin American countries have also been arranged. In 1940 some 4,000 Brazilian books were exhibited in Montevideo.[47]

Mr. Carson[48] quotes a brilliant young Mexican lawyer who was touring the United States as representative of President Avila Camacho, and who voiced his opinion on the true picture of the United States as it should be presented to Latin America. He asked for motion pictures dealing with subjects other than racketeers, gangsters and football players. His country

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44 Ibid., 450.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 451.
48 Carson, 424.

believes the United States inhabitants to be classified largely in these groups, due to the films sent them. He asks that the United States tell them about the Congressional Library and the Smithsonian Institute, that Latin America be acquainted with the fact that 14,000,000 of the people in the United States live in homes they own, that one in every four in the United States has an automobile, one in every three a radio, and one in every six a telephone. If these proportions were compared with those of some dictator ridden European countries it might help their opinion of the United States to rise. They should know that there are more American boys and girls in college than in all the rest of the countries in the world put together, and become acquainted with such matters as the United States plan for old age insurance, adult education, slum clearance, etc. As one Latin American said of the United States, "You are succeeding in selling your goods to us, but you have failed in selling yourselves and your great country to our people."[49]

This idea is gradually getting across to the people of the United States. Under an agreement signed by fifteen American nations at a Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, these nations are now exchanging graduate students and professors.[50] Between 1930 and 1939 United States colleges and universities more than doubled the number of their courses in Latin American studies until in the year before World War II they were offerin 981 such courses to 18,000 students.[51]

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49 Ibid., 423.
50 Dozer, 451.
51 Ibid.

The number of organizations dealing with Pan-American culture which have sprung up, almost defy enumeration. A few of them are the Pan-American League, established at Miami, Florida in 1931, the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, the Inter-American Commission of Women, Pan-American Congress of Architects, and the International Congress of Professors of Ibero-American Literature. There have been conferences of every description including labor conferences, sanitary conferences, those dealing with housing, nutrition and child welfare, and educational conferences.

The drift of opinion in the United States in recent years has been steadily in the non-interventionist direction with emphasis on mutual understanding and an attempt to form a concrete basis on which to build that understanding in Latin American affairs. "Republicans, and Democrats alike have, in the last decade, subscribed to the policy of the good neighbor and to the divorcement of the Monroe Doctrine from the policy of intervention".[52] Long range plans, that will not stop at the end of World War II are being made in Washington and various Latin American capitals to further their collective security. The Río Conference instructed the Pan-American Union to convoke a conference for the study of post-war problems. "World War II, utilizing the new Monroe Doctrine as its cement, may build a genuine base for Pan-American unity in the future."[53] The United States realizes that Latin America rightly criticizes the Monroe Doctrine on these two grounds: (1) It is unilateral in character. It can be interpreted only by this coun-

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52 Perkins, 374.

53 "The Monroe Doctrine and World War II." The American Political Science Review, June, 1942, 36:453.

try and has been applied where and when it serves the interest of the United States best, (2) It has been used as a shield for United States intervention in Latin America. "Of questionable value with regard to Europe, it offers no defense at all against aggression by the United States."[54]

Many Latin Americans feel that the salvation of their republics lies in their ability to protect themselves from the United States. As Salvador Merlos says, "Ya basta de silencio, de neutralidades y de notas de gabinete; lo que conviene hacer es dar principio a un plan de defensa latinoamericana basado en hechos de verdadera utilidad."[55] It is easy to see the basis for this viewpoint.

The decisive point remains what it has always been however. The American people have believed that on this side of the Atlantic existed a political system different from that of Europe; they have wished to keep it different. This is the American System, and neither Latin America nor the United States can divorce itself from it.

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54 Thomson, 210.

55 Salvador R. Merlos. América Latina ante el peligro. Imprenta Nueva de Garardo Matamoros, San Jose, Costa Rica, 1914, 416.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Ann Parker has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Modern Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

June 10-47
Date

G. Salvadori
Signature of Adviser